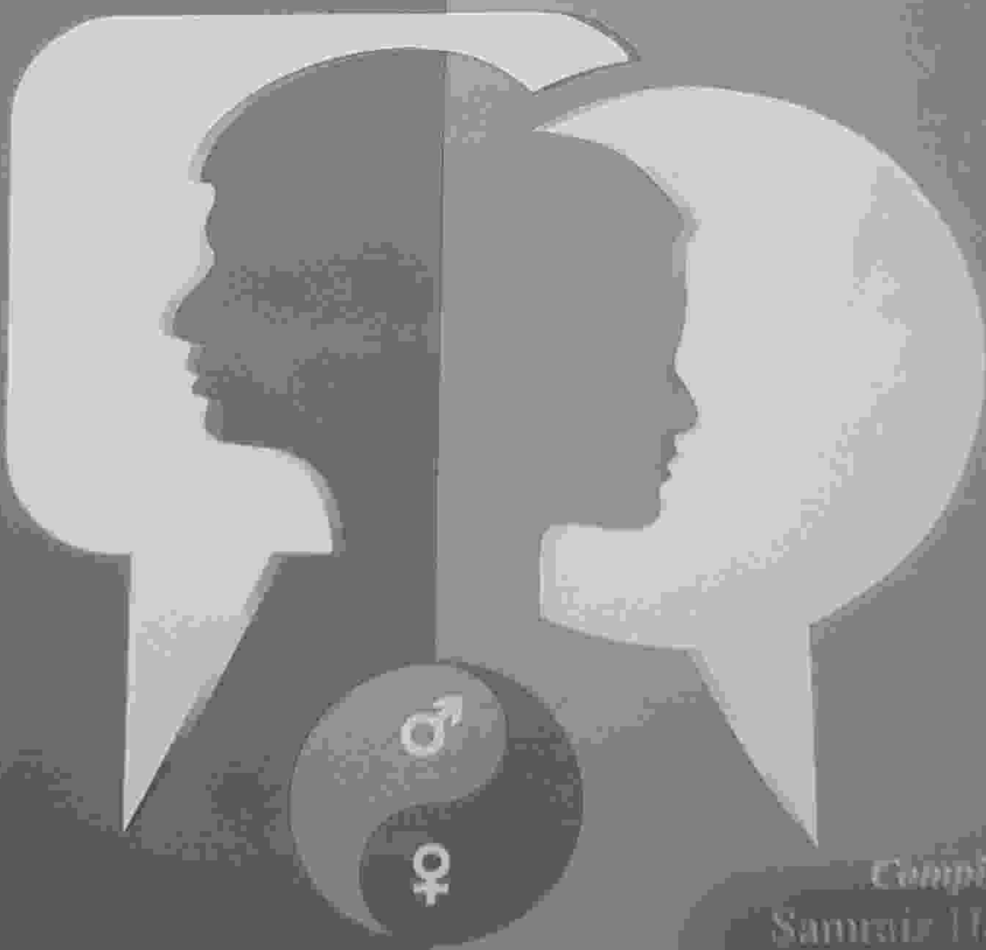
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An Introduction to GENDER STUDIES



for
CSS
& All Other Relevant Exams

Compiled by
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PREFACE

We hope this compilation, which resulted in the form of a joint venture, will prove to be a best guide in helping the students of competitive exams for not only securing maximum marks but also in understanding the real implications of gender studies knowledge.

First and foremost, we honour those in our field who stand on the front lines of academic research, day in and day out, with little pay, little recognition, and little thanks for what they do. Yet these people have huge hearts, true dedication, and an amazing wealth of knowledge and experience to share their work through sources which are easily accessible and openly available. We wish to recognize, pay homage to, and acknowledge the work of our fellow social scientists because compilation of this book would not have been possible if we did not consult the work of these brilliant minds. For this compilation data has been taken from multiple resources. Therefore, we would like to acknowledge all those authors whose work has been utilized to cater the academic needs of students.

There are other silent heroes we wish to honour. Each person who contributes to support our projects in the field are heroes to us. we hope to honour the silent heroes who donate their own supplies, their own money, or their own time to help support the causes we believe in. And finally, we wouldn't be compiling this book if it weren't for the silent heroes in our own personal life that stood beside us, cheering us on as we walked our own path in the world. Our parents are heroes to us for putting in years of hard work so that we could have the privilege of getting an education and pursuing our dreams. We honour our parents as silent heroes who recognized the importance of allowing us to follow our hearts, as this is how one can truly make a difference in the world.

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Preface to the Second Edition

In one year, since the first edition of this book we have received numerous email messages and letters from CSS aspirants commenting on the book and suggesting how it could be improved. We have also built up a large file of ideas based on our own experiences in reading, writing, editing and in examining and supervising essays written by students. With the aid of all this information, we have completely revised the book.

The most obvious changes in this second edition are the new articles. Since many of the readers of the book are CSS candidates, advice on how to write a Gender focused Essay and how to handle Feministic debates was a natural addition. The revised chapters from the first edition contain new articles related to feminist thought with the addition of updated qualitative and quantitative facts. We have minimized the number of URLs (Web addresses) given, for two reasons. First, URLs can and do change over time. Second, we think we have provided enough information regarding this subject in this book that students do not need to invoke their favourite search engines from Web browsers. The subject of gender based writing can easily become dull and boring, so to liven it up we have added some quotes and Information Boxes and so on. The new edition contains many more of these. The material has been updated. Many new edition of books are referenced and over 30 new references have been added. In this book, efforts have been made to present the content in a more holistic manner and the most important aspect of the book is that it has been compiled to cater the needs of competitive exams Aspirants.

We hope this collective venture of our team proves to be good source for the students who are opting Gender studies as an optional subject for CSS. We admit the fact that there is always room for improvement therefore; constructive suggestions for the improvement of this book are always welcome.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO GENDER STUDIES

WHAT IS GENDER STUDIES?

Think of the activities that take place in an average household during the course of a day. Food is cooked, cleaning–sweeping, mopping, and dusting – is done Groceries and other household items are purchased. Clothes are washed, dried, ironed. Sometimes, household repairs are carried out. Garbage is discarded. Also, the people who live in the house need to be looked after. Sometimes, they may have special needs; for example, babies need constant supervision.

These are some of the things that are required to be done to keep homes functioning. These activities take a lot of time, and many are to be done on daily basis. The people who do them expend a lot of energy and may be exhausted when they are finished. Most of the time, women perform these tasks. Put together, these tasks are called housework. Given this name, it may be surprising to learn that housework is not considered to be work in economic or social terms. It is seen as a set of tasks that is naturally performed by the women of a household. It is not, for example, calculated as part of the country's Gross Domestic Product (the sum of all goods and services produced in a country in a given period). This is in spite of the fact that if the women of the house are unable or unwilling to do these tasks, other people will do them – but only if they are paid to for that.

Housework is not the only area in which women's work is not recognized as work. We would generally see women rushing about the city, obviously very busy. But according to the prevalent statistics, only a tiny fraction of women are in the workforce. The question that is to be raised, then, is 'why is the economic contribution of so many women seen as trivial?'

> PEOPLE SHARE A COMMON NATURE BUT ARE TRAINED IN GENDER ROLES

These examples reflect certain changes in viewpoints that are very significant from the point of view of gender studies. They reflect a change in perspective – a change in the way things are looked at. *Gender study is a field of study that looks at the world from the perspective of gender. This means that while studying something – the distribution of resources within a household, a social unit like a caste group, a bill placed before parliament, a development*

project, the classification of different species – are done in a manner that takes into account the fact that different genders exist in the world. These genders are differently placed within social reality such that various processes impact them differently.

Thus gender studies recognizes that gender has to be taken seriously. It is also a field that recognizes that often, within academic disciplines and also other spheres of society, the perspective that has been applied has been that of the most powerful people in society, and that this is often at the expense of less powerful people. Gender studies then exists as an important means for correcting such imbalances.

Features of Gender Studies

Gender studies refers to the academic study of the phenomena of gender. What is meant by 'gender'? Within feminist thought, a distinction has been made between 'sex' and 'gender'. Sex here refers to the fact of being either male or female, and gender to the cultural and social ideas of masculinity and femininity that are assigned to different sexes. Gender refers to those traits and characteristics that a person is expected to possess by virtue of being male or female, as well as the different roles that the person is expected to perform. For example, women may be seen as naturally caring and nurturing, while men may be seen as naturally rational and logical; this may lead to the belief that women are naturally suited to jobs like nursing, while men will make good scientists and engineers. The traits associated with masculinity and femininity vary across different cultures and societies, as well as different periods in history.

> *"Sexuality is who you are personally attracted to... But gender identity is who you are in your soul."*
> ***Caitlyn Jenner***

Gender studies looks at the manner in which the norms and patterns of behaviour associated with masculinity and femininity come into being. It studies the features of these norms and patterns – which traits are considered masculine, which feminine, and why? How do stereotypical models of men and women develop? How do they change over time, and what factors contribute to changes? Also, and very importantly, what impact do such stereotypes have upon actually existing men and women?

> *"There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender... identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results.*
> ***Judith Butler***

Think of the difference in girls' and boys' clothing. Skirts, saris, salwar-kurtas are seen as feminine clothing, and trousers, shirts, sherwanis, etc. as masculine. There are other differences too – feminine clothing is often more colourful than masculine clothing, more likely to be decorated with sparkles and shiny material.

> *"No struggle can ever succeed without women participating side by side with men."*
> ***Muhammad Ali Jinnah***

Sometimes, there is an overlap in men and women's clothing. For example, both men and women may wear denim jeans. But even here, it can be noted that there are differences – in cuts, i.e. in how the jeans fits the wearer (tight or loose), in colours and embellishments (embroidery, sequins, crystals etc.). Thus, even in common items of clothing, there are differences. Clothing is gendered. It differs for both genders, and in doing so; it allows determining whether the wearer is male or female. Sometimes men and women do wear clothing that is absolutely identical. For example, a school uniform may also consist of a tie that both girls and boys have to wear.

Importance of Gender Studies

Gender studies allows people in different social environments to solve gender-related conflicts by providing a common understanding regarding gender identity and relationships. It studies how men and women are the same and ways in which they differ. Gender studies enables an understanding of each gender's needs and the unique contributions each gender makes to society.

Much gender-related abuse, discrimination and maltreatment has occurred throughout the course of history due to a lack of knowledge. Women have been kept from participation in politics and in the workforce. Historically, even when women were permitted employment, they received lower wages than their male counterparts for doing the same type of work. Women were prohibited from keeping property. In some cases, women were considered property, subject to abuse and even death without legal repercussions for the aggressor.

Gender studies examines the causes of these injustices and looks for real-world solutions and means of prevention. It promotes awareness on the value of all people, regardless of sex. Gender studies examines all spheres of life, including the home and family, workplace, religious institutions, education, government and the media. Gender studies research also investigates the nature of gender, and thereby helps society and individuals establish healthy gender-related expectations and models of identity.

Gender is a fundamental aspect of personal and social identity and a biological, psychological and cultural category of paramount importance for people everywhere. In addition, gender is often a criterion for social stratification and different political treatment, as well as a favoured symbol for expressing values and beliefs.

Gender studies offers students an opportunity for focused study of varied issues, in both contemporary and past societies, including:

- Human reproduction
- Gender roles in the family and society
- The psychology of identity
- Sexual orientation
- Representations of women and men in literature, music and art[1]

[1] Retrieved from: Wharton, A.S. 2005. *The Sociology of Gender.* Blackwell Publishing, Malden: U.S.A.

Functional Principles of Gender Studies

There is an enormous and growing body of research, encompassing the fields of biochemistry, neurobiology, physiology and psychology, which all point to a clear conclusion: there are profound differences between men and women. These go well beyond the obvious physical appearances and reproductive differences: men and women differ at many levels, and also approach relationships differently. As such, this makes the case for, these four foundational principles:

1. Gender differences exist; they are a fundamental reality of our biology and impact our psychology. Our maleness and femaleness is a key aspect to our personhood.
2. Acknowledging, rather than ignoring (or worse denying), gender differences are the only intellectually honest response to this reality.

> *"I confused gender identity with sexual orientation. Your gender identity is about who you are, how you feel, the sex you feel yourself to be. Sexual orientation is who you are attracted to"*
> **Chastity Bono**

3. Gender differences are complementary; individuals, our collective humanity, and society as a whole, all benefit from masculine and feminine characteristics. We are better for having men with a clear understanding of their masculinity and women with a clear understanding of their femininity.
4. Gender identity confusion does exist in a small minority of individuals. It is a painful pathology and warrants a compassionate response. However, it is not the 'normative' experience and is not, therefore, a paradigm upon which to drive social policy and institutions.

Sex vs. Gender

Sex gives you identity & the role which are associated to that are gender.

Sometimes, it is hard to understand exactly what is meant by the term 'gender' and how it differs from the closely-related term 'sex'.

Understanding of the social construction of gender starts with explaining the two concepts, i.e., gender and sex. Often these two terms are used interchangeably; however, they bear different meanings as concepts. "Sex" refers to the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women. It is defined as the anatomical and physiological characteristics that signify the biological maleness and femaleness of an individual.

"Gender" refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women. Gender emphasizes that masculinity and femininity are products of social, cultural and psychological factors and are acquired by an individual in the process of becoming a man or a woman. 'Gender' is the term widely used to refer to those ways in which a culture reformulates what begins as a fact of nature. The biological sexes are redefined, represented, valued and channelled into different roles in various culturally dependent ways.

Sex as defined earlier is the concept that emerges from anatomical and physiological characteristics that differentiate males and females biologically whereas gender can be seen as a

social construct manifested by masculine and feminine roles prevalent in a culture or a society. Thus, gender can be seen as an artefact of social, cultural and psychological factors which are attained during the process of socialization of an individual. What is the significance of the concept 'gender'? In talking about the social and cultural construction of masculinity and femininity, gender allows us to see these dimensions of human roles and personalities as based not on nature but on social factors. It then allows us to address issues like subordination and discrimination as issues where change is possible. Therefore, the meaning of sex and gender, femininity and masculinity fluctuate within societies and cultures across the globe.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GENDER STUDIES AND WOMEN STUDY

> *"Women and men are more alike than they are different, men are not from Mars; women are not from Venus, we are all from planet earth.*
> **" Michael S. Kimmel**
>
> *"Gender equality not only liberates women but also men from prescribed gender stereotypes"*
> **Emma Watson**

Women's and Gender Studies is an inter-disciplinary field that examines gender as a social and cultural construction.

Gender Studies

Gender study is an inter-disciplinary field that concentrates on the new scholarships in men's and women's studies. It addresses the struggle for gender equality in politics, education, the family, the labour force, literature, and the media are key topics. Gender studies is the new subject to academics across the world because the world and elements of the culture tend to achieve the realistic approach towards the exploration of ills in a society. The basic motive behind the exploration of ills is to confront the challenges of human life. The subject is not ancient one and oppositely it is new to the society. Gender studies is the paradigm shift in academics and this shift is being obtained through the consistent behaviour of women in women struggle against freedom. Realistically speaking, the subject matter debate hasn't ended till date because of different viewpoints of the society about the gender studies at the same platform. It is known fact that the women studies is always considered the major element related to the women only. Those elements that are highly considerable in the way and should be done with the immediate improvement in the timeline at women's perspective. The women issue is the one of the main elements among those considered the women at first place in society and should be moulded in the sense that may endorse the way of society towards the women.

Women's Studies

Women's studies is the study of women and gender in every field. Its basic premise is that traditional education is based on a study of men—usually upper-class, Caucasian, educated men—while other groups of men and all different groups of women are erroneously subsumed under the category "mankind." Early on courses drew especially on history, literature, and sociology, but they quickly expanded to the other humanities (philosophy, religious studies,

comparative literature, art, music) and the social sciences (anthropology, political science, economics, psychology, geography). Science and technology have been slower to embrace women's studies, but biology, math, technology, computer science, chemistry, physics, and medicine have all begun to examine their assumptions for sexist bias, and courses in "gender and physics," "women geologists," or "sexism and science" are de rigueur in most programs.

Women studies is an offshoot of second wave feminism (The term second-wave feminism refers mostly to the radical feminism of the women's liberation movement of the late 1960s and early1970s). Women's studies addresses not only the need for a fuller understanding of women in society but also for new criteria and methods of assessing the status of women.

Gender Studies a Paradigm Shift

It is concluded that women's studies pondered upon the women studies, history of women in this universe, and women struggle for freedom. The gender studies is the paradigm shift which show that how the study of men and women are interrelated activities during discourse analysis. The women issues may be same as the society said and may be highly integrated as the Hillary Clinton thinks. The women' issues may be same as the urban women said during her daily life and may be same as the women issues buzzed up by the rural' living life. The main element in which the women can think, ponder and initiates the discourse analysis is being understandable and discussed in the women studies. The women issues are not a static form in which the women can think and respond in the static form, it is the flexible paradigm that shows that how a woman confronts the challenges in her life. The challenges are itself creating various issues in the women's life and women can think that people of society are still unaware about the methods show that how these issues can be resolved. The women researchers and the women respondents are the two ways to think about the issues of the same community in which the both exist with almost the same mindset but in a different way. Ironically, the women studies endorsed the same mindset at different levels so that the community shows some integration at a large scale.

The women's issues can't meet the solutions in any case because the society acts differently. The Gender studies is entirely a different concept and the conceptual framework of gender needs the ways in which the respondent behaves with the researchers but in both men and women perspective. The gender studies is always considered the issues at the front desk in which the both males and females are considerable for the discourse analysis. The women studies considered the women history and Gender studies considered the men's role in the women history. The women studies initiated the analysis at women's literature and gender studies drew attention towards the role of men in articulation and even creating it.

MULTI-DISCIPLINARY NATURE OF GENDER STUDIES

Gender studies form part of a significant shift into interdisciplinary in academic fields more widely, which is reflected in the issue-based calls for funding bodies, special editions of journals and the growth of interdisciplinary research fields. Gender studies are an integral part of this interdisciplinary movement that offers theoretical and methodological advantages in understanding multiply constituted social worlds and addressing pressing global problems, such as the dynamics of migration, uneven global power geometries and climate change. Not only are most of the big issues in the contemporary world underpinned by social divisions including those based on sex and gender, but also the issues addressed by sexual politics are often a key motor of activism and change. Gender studies is distinctive in its engagement with

interdisciplinary, which have developed though a synergy between thought and activism. This field of research and study draws upon the tradition of women's studies and feminist theories and activism, rather than being merely part of recent trends and fashions, in a shift to interdisciplinary theory, which goes beyond multi- or trans-disciplinary approaches. Gender studies has grown out of the need to address some of the big issues in everyday life as well as on the global arena of international politics in which cultural, economic, political and social inequalities are played out. Gender awareness has become integral to disciplinary fields as diverse as history, literature, science, sociology and economics, as well as emerging as a field of studies, which goes much further than the mainstreaming of gender. Sexual politics and gender studies have more recently engaged with some of the dilemmas, which have been presented by diversity policies, for example, European Union equality policies, which might be seen to have gone beyond gender or in which gender has been marginalized.[1]

AUTONOMY VS INTEGRATION DEBATE

Autonomy in Gender Studies

"Autonomy defines as the capacity for a woman to achieve wellbeing and a role in decision-making."

Autonomy is an individual's capacity for self-determination or self-governance. Beyond that, it is a much-contested concept that comes up in a number of different arenas. For example, there is the folk concept of autonomy, which usually operates as an inchoate desire for freedom in some area of one's life, and which may or may not be connected with the agent's idea of the moral good. This folk concept of autonomy blurs the distinctions that philosophers draw among personal autonomy, moral autonomy, and political autonomy. Moral autonomy, usually traced back to Kant, is the capacity to deliberate and to give oneself the moral law, rather than merely heeding the injunctions of others. Personal autonomy is the capacity to decide for oneself and pursue a course of action in one's life, often regardless of any particular moral content. Political autonomy is the property of having one's decisions respected, honoured, and heeded within a political context. It has the most important and key role in genders as well.

The dimensions of women's autonomy in terms of outside mobility, access to economic resources and involvement in household decisions and their association with fertility and contraceptive behavior

Another distinction that can be made is between autonomy as a bare capacity to make decisions and of autonomy as an ideal. When autonomy functions as an ideal, agents who do not meet certain criteria in having reached a decision are deemed non-autonomous with respect to that decision. This can function both locally, in terms of particular actions, and globally, in terms of agents as a whole. For instance, children, agents with cognitive disabilities of a certain kind, or groups that have been deemed non-autonomous because of their inability to fulfil certain criteria of autonomous agency, due to individual or social constraints.

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[1] Walby, S. 1994. "Towards a Theory of Patriarchy" in *The Polity Reader in Gender Studies*.Polity Press and Blackwell Publishers Ltd: U.K. pp. 22-28.

Autonomy and the True Self

There is debate over whether autonomy needs to be representative of a kind of "authen[tic]" or "true" self. This debate is often connected to whether the autonomy theorists believe that [a]n "authentic" or "true" self exists. In fact, conceptions of autonomy are often connected t[o] conceptions of the nature of the self and its constitution. Theorists who hold a socially-constitu[ted] view of the self will have a different idea of autonomy (sometimes even denying its existe[nce] altogether) than theorists who think that there can be some sort of core "true" self, or that sel[ves] as agents can be considered in abstraction from relational and social commitments and contexts.

Finally, autonomy has been criticized as being a bad idea, for promoting a pernicious mod[el] of human individuality that overlooks the importance of social relationships and dependenc[y]. Responses to these criticisms have come in various forms, but for the most part philosophers [...] autonomy have striven to express the compatibility of the social aspects of human action with their conceptions of self-determination, arguing that there need not necessarily be an antagon[ism] between social and relational ties, and our ability to decide our own course of action.

Philosophy of Gender Autonomy

Feminist philosophers have been critical of concepts and values traditionally seen to b[e] gender neutral, finding that, when examined, they reveal themselves to be masculine. Autono[my] has long been coded masculine and associated with masculine ideals, despite being someth[ing] which women have called for in their own right. Jessica Benjamin argues that while we a[re] formally committed to equality, "gender polarity underlies such familiar dualisms as autono[my] and dependency". There has been some debate over whether autonomy is actually a useful val[ue] for women, or whether it has been tarnished by association.

"The ideal of the autonomous individual could only be created by abstracting from the relationship of dependency between men and women. The relationships which people require to nurture them are considered private, and not truly relationships with outside others*. Thus the other is reduced to an appendage of the subject – the mere condition of his being – not a being in her own right. The individual who cannot recognize the other or his own dependency without suffering a threat to his identity requires the formal, impersonal principle of rationalized interaction, and is required by them."*

Entire structure of recognition between men and women must be altered in order to pe[rmit] an end to domination. It is addressed as the possibility of reformulating the notion of autono[my] itself, but each sees it as essentially linked with individualism and separation. Sarah Hoagland [is] more emphatic: she openly rejects autonomy as a value, referring to it as "a thoroughly nou[...] concept" as it "encourages us to believe that connecting and engaging with others limits us."

These criticisms have been countered, however, by feminists looking to retain the value [of] autonomy, who argue that the critics conflate the ideal of "autonomy" with that of "substanti[ve] independence." Autonomy, while it has often been associated with individualism a[nd] independence, does not necessarily entail these. Most feminist criticism of autonomy is based [on] the idea that autonomy implies a particular model or expectation of the self. John Christm[an] however, points out that the proceduralist notion of autonomy which is the focus [of] contemporary philosophical attention does not have such an implication, but is metaphysica[lly] neutral and value neutral

Integration in Gender Studies

"Gender equality is a core development objective in its own right. But greater gender equality is also smart economics, enhancing productivity and improving other development outcomes, including prospects for the next generation and for the quality of societal policies and institutions. Economic development is not enough to shrink all gender disparities— corrective policies that focus on persisting gender gaps are essential." **(World Bank Report)**

Empower women and girls and engage men and boys as partners, clients and agents of positive social change. Incorporating these strategies into programmes has promoted gender-equitable norms and resulted in better programme outcomes—such as increased contraceptive uptake and condom use; greater access, retention and completion of school among girls; improved food security and farming outputs; and more representative and more active government and civil society institutions.

Gender analysis is 'therefore' the foundation of strategic and effective gender integration processes and should be planned and budgeted for as early in the project design process as possible. It refers to a systematic way of examining:

- the different roles and norms for women, men, girls, boys, heterosexuals and sexual and gender minorities
- the different levels of power that they have in society
- the different needs, constraints and opportunities of each group
- the impact of these differences in their lives

A gender analysis first identifies the gender norms and inequalities between these groups that are likely to affect the achievement of sustainable results. That information then helps to determine how to address the inequalities and development consequences. Gender analyses in the context of development programmes should use locally relevant data to answer two basic questions:

- How will gender norms affect the achievement of sustainable project results?
- How will the proposed project results affect the relative status of men and boys, women and girls and sexual and gender minorities (including possible unintentional positive and negative outcomes)?

Gender analyses can and should take place at every stage of the project and research cycle. At some stages (especially in project design), a formal gender analysis is needed. Sources of data for formal gender analysis include:

- published research studies and other existing quantitative and qualitative data about gender norms in the project context
- gender-related policies in the project area
- primary data on gender norms and practices related to the project or study focus (for example, data obtained through focus groups and key informant interviews)

To understand gender relations better, both formal and informal gender analyses should be systematically organized by exploring gender norms, inequalities and relations within specific aspects of social and cultural relations in a given context.

Important Domains of Integration

Access to resources

One's ability to use financial and other resources/assets. Having access to resources and control over them is fundamental to be a fully active and productive (socially, economically and politically) participant in society. Resources and assets include national and productive resources, information, education, income, services, employment and benefits.

- **Knowledge, beliefs and perceptions:** Boys, girls, women and men are privy to different types of knowledge and experiences. Thus, boys, girls, men and women have diverse beliefs and may perceive situations differently. This domain also includes beliefs and social norms about women's and men's acceptable behavior, how they are differently valued in society, and what they are capable of.
- **Practices and participation:** Peoples' behaviors and actions in life and how they vary by gender. The domain encompasses gender differences in freedom of movement or autonomy to enable participation, types of activities and practices, how people engage in development activities and allocation and availability of time to participate.
- **Legal rights and status:** How people of different genders are regarded and treated by the customary and formal legal codes and judicial systems. This domain includes the right to vote, enter into legal agreements and contracts, be a legislator, own property and make reproductive choices. It also includes entitlements to healthcare, representation, due process and family formation or recognition. Gender-based differences in legal rights and status may affect girls, women and sexual minorities particularly.
- **Power:** The capacity to control resources and to make autonomous and independent decisions free of coercion is called power. Gender norms influence the extent to which individuals can make and act on decisions about acquiring resources, beliefs, one's own body, children, occupations, affairs of the household, community or state, voting, running for office, legislation, entering into legal contracts, and moving about and associating with others. Power is a part of each of the above domains, as well as a domain in its own right.

> **"Together we can help both men and women stand up for their rights and support them to become the best version of themselves for tomorrow."**
>
> **Seemal Saeed, Pakistan**

To conduct a gender analysis, identify within each domain:

1. Key gender relations;
2. The ways in which those key gender relations create barriers to and opportunities for achieving project results; and
3. The ways in which the proposed project or activity is likely to exploit, accommodate or transform gender relations.

Examples of Gender-Related Integration

- women's mobility
- women's control over their earnings

- couple's decision-making on family planning
- men's and women's attitudes toward gender roles and norms
- men's and women's attitudes toward gender-based violence
- men's willingness to participate in domestic chores and child-rearing
- health-related knowledge of boys and girls
- homophobic attitudes
- stigmatizing attitudes and discriminatory practices toward sexual and gender minorities

Extended Autonomy vs. Integration Debate in Gender Studies

The concept of autonomy is same in feminist mindset as scholars of moral psychology have their own. The moral psychology means that self-direction in one's life is explicit in a person life. The self-direction means rules, values, norms and traditions are being met ideally with a way of life. Autonomy means that personally successfully act exactly according to norms and values in self-directive mode. For example, in autonomous attitude, the person exactly does according to his already decided motive. This is not wrong to say that autonomy was considered by early feminists not more than a suspicious activity. The only reason that was floated over there at that time, unattractive masculinity rising at the society level.

At that time, personhood was halted for the sake of mild approach towards masculinists. Oppositely, there are scholars who specifically view feminism in detail and have their own interpretation of autonomy. They argue that autonomous attitude is necessary to measure exact oppression of gender in society. As gender oppression is adopting new ways so feminist thinking is exactly doing same in today's environment.

Feminist thinkers believe that objectification is still there in this world and should be removed. There is still an open challenge at feminist forums that either they should continue with previous thought about autonomy or a new one. In the way, re-conceptualization of autonomy has seemed practically viable at broad perspective. The concept of relational autonomy is new one and mostly deals with alteration of feminist view about autonomy. Some think that autonomous and self-government is acceptable only when someone declares as normal.

Internationally speaking, there is a lot of difference between the discourse of man about feminist overview and that of women in same society. Many feminists pondered upon the way of a man's thinking. Some West-based minds that have the liberal point of view see some positives in masculinity. Western culture that has generated this mindset also considered it to name as autonomy. The example of gender studies according to autonomy concepts is glaring in the Indian context.

India is real times example that has shown that gender attitude was changed after the arrival of western based television. The status of women has been changed since the arrival of autonomy because it was more than the just feminist view. Patriarchy is the main element to discuss that cannot stop debate between autonomy and integration. The male-based cultural structure is never acceptable for feminists because they exactly want its opposition. The concept of Patriarchy has enhanced gender inequality that was ill of society in the previous era and still a pinching debate.

STATUS OF GENDER STUDIES IN PAKISTAN

Gender Studies represents a relatively new field in the area of humanistic and social sciences. Since their apparition, they generated major changes in academy and society; they are responsible, in part, for the way that social universe looks nowadays, continuing to shape its form, drawing attention to gender inequalities and designing ways to remedy injustice. Gender studies represents, along many other disciplines in the area of social sciences, a new field, whose existence barely counts four decades. Despite a short existence, gender studies represents one of the most innovative and dynamic fields in this area. It constitutes a very good example of the way in which the academic sphere has been transformed in the last half century, through the acknowledgement of the fact that knowledge production is a historic, cultural and social phenomenon. Therefore, gender studies imposed, facing many difficulties, though, as we shall see in the present paper, the acknowledgement of gender as a category that intervenes at all levels and stages of the knowledge process, thus challenging the traditional view of knowledge production and contributing to the transformation of the traditional academic sphere. At the same time, gender studies through its contribution to a better understanding of gender construction and meaning, contributed to the transformation of social and cultural practices, thus transforming society in a durable and efficient way. Gender studies imposed, in the course of its short existence, gender as a fundamental category for the analysis of all forms and systems of human organization and social life.

The Emerging Changes

The emerging changes in women studies considerable for evaluating the status of gender studies in Pakistan. Ironically, this is the same determinant that can decide status in Pakistan and same in the whole world. That approach is always in a trend that can provide facilitation towards women studies. The facilitation that can lower gap between men and women. It is a pure outcome that women studies want to achieve. The year when women started to grow was 1989. It was the year when Center of Excellence in Women's Studies was established by the ministry of Women Development.

After establishment, the first step was taken towards the goal of government to boost women's role in society. The center was the initial step and now there are many steps that have been taken by the government since 1989. The center is liable to conducts research in women studies, gathers information about the gender gap and suggests initial step to lower that identified gap. Further, the center is conducting various sample tests so that real time problem of women can explore. In June 1997, the center was involved in its full operations towards the objective as it set. That research institute has taken three years to gain the title of the only research institute of women. The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has been working on the perception inculcated in the Pakistan about Gender Studies. Historically, 1999 observed the way in which "Country WID profile-Pakistan" was the biggest platform.

Policies Formulation for the Gender in Pakistan

After the policies formulation for the gender in Pakistan, the subject matter goes with the proper implementation of those policies. The policy implementation in Pakistan is the way that shows which policy was highly beneficial in raising the status of gender or else. The society is changing and this paradigm shift endorsed changes during the development of the individual. This subject matter was consistent with change specifically from 1999 to 2007. This is the

principle in which the policy environment was penetrating at the platform of gender studies. The socio-cultural context is the other mindset that was developed in the same manner so that gender equality could monitor. The customary practices are also monitored during the change from one level of study to another level. In the end, one can say that status of gender studies in Pakistan that was initiated with boasted behavior still continues at the same pace.

Gender Mainstreaming

Gender alludes to the socially constructed roles of men and women. It encompasses not just women: addressing gender 'issues' is acknowledging and understanding the bias, experiences, challenges and perspectives as affecting - and effected by - men, women, boys and girls. Gender mainstreaming aims to address the disparities between males and females, and to challenge those normative political, social and cultural structures that create inequality and ignore gender bias. According to a European Commission definition, gender mainstreaming "is the integration of the gender perspective into every stage of policy processes – design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation – with a view to promoting equality between women and men. It means assessing how policies impact on the life and position of both women and men – and taking responsibility to re-address them if necessary."

Although this definition concentrates on equality as the ultimate goal, at the contextual and operational level, gender mainstreaming must involve greater intricacies and awareness of differences and what a perspective actually is.

Why does 'gender' sometimes seem confined to 'women's issues'? Because females make up half of the population, yet are often excluded from processes and they are invariably the hardest hit by situations and consequences of war and conflict that EU missions seek to address. Furthermore, as women are often those most responsible for supporting day-to-day life in many developing states (particularly those most affected by conflict), violence against women is used as a weapon of conflict to disrupt society. To address this problem, therefore, most attention in the gender framework needs to concentrate on redressing this imbalance i.e. back towards women.[3]

A MUST READ ARTICLE FOR CSS STUDENTS

"Malala Yousafzai, the co-recipient of the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize, has been advocating across the world for girls' educational rights, even in the face of extremely difficult circumstances in her home country of Pakistan, where gunmen attempted to assassinate her in 2012.

Of course, women throughout the world face a range of challenges and none more so than in the developing world. Levels of education, health care and political representation can be dauntingly low, and discrimination and sexual violence are all too frequent.

One of the most prominent cases of a country struggling with the competing dynamics of development, modernization, religion and tradition is indeed Pakistan, the sixth most populous country on earth. The World Economic Forum ranks the country as the least gender equitable in the Asia and Pacific region. The 2012 annual report from the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan details many challenges women there face, including being "attacked and killed on account of asserting their rights to education, work and generally for choosing to have a say in key decisions in their lives."

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3 In T.S. Saraswathi (Ed.) Culture, Socialization and human development: Theory, research and applications in India.New Delhi: Sage Publications

In 2012, UNESCO stated that Pakistan showed the least progress in the region educating low-income girls: "The poorest girls in Pakistan are twice as likely to be out of school as the poorest girls in India, almost three times as likely as the poorest girls in Nepal and around six times as likely as the poorest girls in Bangladesh." (For additional comparisons between countries and groups within the same country, see the World Inequality Database on Education.) Even when there is the possibility of enrolling in a school, actually doing so can be downright dangerous. In June 2013, militants blew up a bus carrying female university students in Quetta, the capital of Pakistan's southwestern Balochistan province, and the school has since been shuttered. And Malala — the Pakistani schoolgirl and education advocate who was shot by the Taliban for her views — addressed the U.N. in favor of free, mandatory education around the world, adding that she was focusing on women "because they are suffering the most."

Pakistani women who want to contribute to the economy face other barriers as well. A 2012 World Bank report details the difficulties they face gaining access to capital due to social constraints — needing permission from a male to even qualify for a loan, for example. According to the study, 50% to 70% of microloans given to women in Pakistan may actually be used by their male relatives. For further information on these types of obstacles, see the paper "Gender-Specific Barriers to Female Entrepreneurs in Pakistan: A Study in Urban Areas of Pakistan." And even something as basic as using public transportation presents a challenge, according to the International Labor Organization.

The lack of opportunity for Pakistani women is also a loss for their country. According to a 2012 UNESCO report, literate Pakistani women earned nearly twice as much as those who were illiterate.

A study in *comparative education*, "Can education be a path to gender equality in the labor market? An Update on Pakistan," finds that "the market rewards women's education and skills at a higher rate than men's." As Esther Duflo, a development economist at MIT and the director of the Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab, has noted, there is a close relationship between women's empowerment and a country's economic development.

Pakistan's struggling economy needs all the help it can get. The Asian Development Bank estimates that in 2014, Pakistan's GDP growth rate will be 3.5%, half the 7% needed just to absorb new workforce entrants. The World Bank notes that the country's recovery from the global financial crisis has been the slowest in South Asia. According to the Pew Research Center, 80% of Pakistanis say the economy is in poor shape, while a British Council report found that economic factors were the greatest reason for the pessimism of youth on the direction the country is headed.

There are some organizations working to improve gender equality and provide more opportunities for women. The Citizens Foundation, a non-profit organization, runs schools across the country, encouraging female enrollment with the goal of having its campuses gender balanced. The Kashf Foundation, founded in 1996, became the first microfinance institution in Pakistan to target women from low-income communities. The First Women Bank was founded in 1989 to support businesswomen. Pakistan's Small and Medium Enterprises Development Authority (SMEDA) also provides support for female entrepreneurs'.[1]

[1] Women, girls and Malala: Research on gender and education in Pakistan, and beyond. *By Alexandra Raphel. Retrieved from https://journalistsresource.org/studies/international/human-rights/pakistan-women-equality-education-economic-development-research-roundup*

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

Social constructionism is an idea that social institutions and knowledge are created by actors within the system, rather than having any inherent truth on their own. A social construct or construction concerns the meaning, notion, or connotation placed on an object or event by a society, and adopted by the inhabitants of that society with respect to how they view or deal with the object or event. In that respect, a social construct as an idea would be widely accepted as natural by the society, but may or may not represent a reality shared by those outside the society, and would be an "invention or artifice of that society."

> **Social Construct**
>
> - A social construction is something that doesn't exist independently in the "natural" world, but is instead an invention of society.
> - Cultural practices and norms give rise to the existence of social constructs and govern the practices, customs, and rules concerning the way we use/view/understand them.
> - In other words, we all act as if they exist, and because of our intersubjective agreement, they do.

A major focus of social constructionism is to uncover the ways in which individuals and groups participate in the construction of their perceived social reality. It involves looking at the ways social phenomena are created, institutionalized, known, and made into tradition by humans.

Essentialism

In contrast to constructionism, essentialism has a view that objects have properties that are essential to them.

INTRODUCTION

The idea that gender difference is socially constructed is a view present in many philosophical and sociological theories about gender. According to this view, society and culture create gender roles, and these roles are prescribed as ideal or appropriate behaviour for a person of that specific gender. Some argue that the differences in behaviour between men and women are entirely social conventions, whereas others believe that behaviour is influenced by biological universal factors to some extent, with social conventions having a major effect on gendered behaviour.

> **Essentialism**
>
> - **believe that human culture has a core of common knowledge that schools are obliged to transmit to students in a systematic, disciplined way**
> - **believe that there is a body of essential knowledge and skills that all humans need to know**
> - **schools should provide sound instruction that is aimed at preparing students to live life and comply with society's accepted standards and need for order.**

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

1. ***Social constructionism.*** It is a theory of knowledge. Social Constructionism focuses on how meaning is created. Emerging from the criticism of Objectivity, Social Constructionism challenges concepts of knowledge put forward by Positivism, which postulates the externality of reality and that empirically-proved truths are mind-independent. It is an account of reality produced collaboratively by a community of knowers. Thus, Social Constructionism focuses on how meaning is created.

2. ***Knowledge is a social product.*** Knowledge is an "account of reality produced collaboratively by a community of knowers. Thus, social constructionists focus on how meaning is created and suggest that knowledge is not only a social product, but a product of a specifically situated society; various accounts of reality depend on place and time – in order to study knowledge as a social product, one has to historicize and contextualize the given description of reality.

3. ***Power and hierarchy underlie social construction.*** This focus results in showing how individuals differ in status, entitlement, efficacy, self-respect and other traits based on the kind of interactions one is involved in and subjected to.

4. ***Language is at the core of knowledge.*** Language is considered the building block of culture; it conveys meaning and creates the system of knowledge we participate in. Ultimately, language has a huge influence on how we perceive reality and, as a result, is the creator of this reality.

5. ***Social construction is a dynamic process.*** Social constructionists emphasize the complexity of how knowledge is created in social interactions. Knowledge and meanings are not stable or constant; they are co-constructed in interactions with others, negotiated, modified and shifted. People are active in their perception, understanding and sharing of knowledge acquired from their social milieu. It is prudent, therefore, to consider this process when explaining the social construction of knowledge, including knowledge concerning gender.

6. ***The individual and society are indissoluble.*** Social constructionists question the Western idea of an autonomous individual who can draw a clear line between the self and the society. According to social constructionism, individuals can create meaning only in relation to what they are exposed to in their environment. Paradoxically, the same individuals co-create the meanings that are available in this environment. It is concluded, therefore, that the society and the individual are indissoluble and mutually constitutive.

7. It is also noted that the constructionist accounts of gender creation can be divided into two main streams:

   Materialist theories, which underline the structural aspects of the social environment that are responsible for perpetuating certain gender roles;

   Discursive theories, which stress the creation, through language and culture, of meanings that are associated with gender.

They also argue that both the materialist and discursive theories of social construction of gender can be either essentialist or non-essentialist. This means that some of these theories assume a clear biological division between women and men when considering the social creation

of masculinity and femininity, while others contest the assumption of the biological division between the sexes as independent of social construction.[4]

Historicizing and re-writing histories are usually considered necessary and positive operations in academic settings. To treat concepts or objects or to write universalizing historical narratives is considered negative. When discussing an object or concept, a sense of epistemological certainty is achieved by referring to the historical specificity of it. Also, constructivist theories often refer to the historicity of constructions; whatever has a history is contingent and thus constructed. To understand the meaning of an object often requires knowledge about its history and its historical emergence. The present state of things is explained through the historicity of meaning. Our understanding of sexuality, for instance, can be explained through investigating how the meanings of sexuality were historically produced. We point at these tendencies, which we have encountered within academic settings, as indicators of the epistemological value that historical knowledge, or a consuming fever of history, has gained in feminist thinking Inspired by the feminist critique of historicism we propose that the predominant state of theory within feminism is enabled by the epistemological hegemony of historicizing constructivism

- Firstly, there is a need to rewrite history. This has meant going back to historical sources, seeking out information about women and writing the histories of women. The task of rewriting history has been the responsibility of historians of women. The historical narratives focusing on women could also be used as tools in pointing at the inadequacies of universal histories. Another narrative in relation to mainstream history is created as women are made the subjects of history.
- Secondly, there is an epistemological approach within feminist theorizing that stresses the importance of historicizing concepts, categories, differences and identities. This approach means that identities or objects are not considered ahistorical given that have had an effect on the course of history in various ways, but rather, that the categories and concepts are themselves historical, in need of an historical investigation to be understood in their (historical) specificity. To put it briefly, we were puzzled by the shifts in perspective: an ontological understanding of history seemed to be in opposition to an epistemological understanding, or a conceptual approach to history seemed to be opposed to an empirical approach.

Expliciting Past

The twofold requirement to be both a historical realist (and empiricist) and to account for the epistemology behind that realism (that is, the construction of that real) has shaped and remoulded the writing of history and the theories of history. The challenge that historians faced using the metaphor of the Galilean telescope: the Galilean telescope was a modernist device through which the independent historian subject used to look at the past. The Galilean telescope, in the shape of historical method, showed the historian her object of investigation – the reality that now was past. In this empiricist understanding, the historian could grasp the actual reality of

[4] Wharton, A.S. 2005. *The Sociology of Gender* Blackwell Publishing, Malden U.S.A

the past. The linguistic turn of the late twentieth century transformed the telescope. The telescope has become language.

Historicising Sex

When it is analysed the places of history in Judith Butler's constructivism, it is aware of this tension between the real and the constructed. As the tension between the real and constructed is too broad to adequately engage with we have narrowed it down to the form matter distinction by using this distinction as an analytical tool. It is especially interested in the ways that feminist constructivist theories at times use history as if it was "about" the past and as though "it" were as real as the text that refers to "it". In what ways do feminists use the words 'history', 'historicity' and 'historicizing'? What grammar do these words have in feminist theoretical language? We interested in looking at the ways in which historicity is used in feminist theories to see where and how it stands as a ground for knowledge, as this is one of the strongest employments of the word 'history'. History is origin; it is our past. The different uses of 'history' imply different textual purposes. What is gained by understanding the word history as meaning being about the past? There is an alternation between understanding history as fully discursive and understanding it as representing the past and the things that actually happened there. The strongest usage of the word 'history' implies an understanding where history has happened and is for real. It is argued that especially constructivist thinking needs to use this realist aspect of history in its arguments. The connection between 'history' and 'real' is made in arguments like 'something is not natural but constructed because it has a history'. Having a history is conceptualized as real, it tells us about the 'real' character of the phenomenon in question.

***Historicizing Sex"** will address a range of important questions about the current state of gender and sexuality studies of the early modern period. "Historicizing Sex" begins with the assumption that the study of the past can add significantly to our understandings of power, desire, fantasy, and identification in the present. Work in the early modern period has always been central to gender and sexuality studies, even as feminism and queer theory have profoundly shaped the work of early modernists. Early modern scholars have established the historically and culturally specific nature of constructions of human identity. At the same time, however, they have interrogated the very concept of historical difference to demonstrate that an excessive focus on alterity may not only distort our understanding of past cultures as easily as a naive identification but also enable present structures of domination and inequality. Early modernists have also shown that the historical construction and representation of gendered and sexual norms must be situated within contexts of material history, religious controversy, emergent nationalism, evolving understandings of race, and changing structures of global trade and colonial expansion. Feminist and queer analysis has uncovered the contradictory views of the human body, sociopolitical order, imperial power, and religious conviction that shaped early modern experiences of gender and desire. As numerous scholars have observed, we ignore at our peril the ways that these early modern constructions illuminate and intersect with contemporary norms and practices.*[2]

1 Bhasin, Kamla (2003) *Understanding Gender*. New Delhi: Women Unlimited

QUEER THEORY

WHAT IS QUEER THEORY?

Origin, History and Explanation

- *Queer theory views gender as not fixed, unable to be categorized and labeled*
- *Queer theory focuses on a critique of social boundaries and the mechanisms that produce them*

The word "queer" in queer theory has some of these connotations, particularly its alignment with ideas about homosexuality. Queer theory is a brand-new branch of study or theoretical speculation; it has only been named as an area since about 1991. It grew out of gay/lesbian studies, a discipline which itself is very new, existing in any kind of organized form only since about the mid-1980s. Gay/lesbian studies, in turn, grew out of feminist studies and feminist theory. Gay/lesbian studies, as a political form of academics, also challenges the notion of normative sexualities. Research suggests once you set up a category labelled "normal," you automatically set up its opposite, a category labelled "deviant," and the specific acts or identities which fill those categories then get linked to other forms of social practices and methods of social control. When you do something your culture labels deviant, you are liable to be punished for it: by being arrested, by being shamed, made to feel dirty, by losing your job, your license, your loved ones, your self-respect, your health insurance.

Gender and sexual preference are often assumed to be fixed and unchanging things. This is a paradigm that feminists and homosexual writers have taken as an unchallenged assumption as they seek to shift and establish fixed positions within the sexual spectra.

Queer Theory challenges this assumption, *reframing* sexuality as being socially constructed and hence varying with context. It is 'anti-essentialist' in rejecting gender as being in a person's unchanging essence. Thus a person in a gay club may act and feel a lot more homosexual than when they are out with work friends. Even at the biological level, there is not a strict male-female divide, for example with various combinations of X and Y chromosomes and varying genetic influences. The construction of identity is influenced by a wide number of factors, from *Lacan's* notion of language and symbolic codes in the *symbolic register* to social pressures of *conforming*. Queer Theory simply adds gender and sexual preference to an already long list of variables.

Scope of Queer Theory

Queer theory

KEYWORDS	KEY THEORISTS
•Queer space	•Alexander Doty
•Fluidity	•Teresa de Lauretis
•Identity	•Judith Butler
•Binary	•Eve Sedgwick
	•Adrienne Rich
	•David Halperin

Gay/lesbian studies, like feminist studies, works to understand how these categories of normal and deviant are constructed, how they operate, how they are enforced, in order to intervene into changing or ending them. Which brings me--finally--to queer theory. Queer theory emerges from gay/lesbian studies' attention to the social construction of categories of normative and deviant sexual behaviour. But while gay/lesbian studies, as the name implies, focused largely on questions of homosexuality, queer

theory expands its realm of investigation. Queer theory looks at, and studies, and has a political critique of, anything that falls into normative and deviant categories, particularly sexual activities and identities. The word "queer", as it appears in the dictionary, has a primary meaning of "odd," "peculiar," "out of the ordinary." Queer theory concerns itself with any and all forms of sexuality that are "queer" in this sense – and then, by extension, with the normative behaviours and identities which define what is "queer" (by being their binary opposites). Thus queer theory expands the scope of its analysis to all kinds of behaviours, including those which are gender-bending as well as those which involve "queer" non-normative forms of sexuality.

Queer theory insists that all sexual behaviours, all concepts linking sexual behaviours to sexual identities, and all categories of normative and deviant sexualities, are social constructs, sets of signifiers which create certain types of social meaning. Queer theory follows feminist theory and gay/lesbian studies in rejecting the idea that sexuality is an essentialist category, something determined by biology or judged by eternal standards of morality and truth. For queer theorists, sexuality is a complex array of social codes and forces, forms of individual activity and institutional power, which interact to shape the ideas of what is normative and what is deviant at any particular moment, and which then operate under the rubric of what is "natural," "essential," "biological," or "god-given."

Queer theory is grounded in gender and sexuality. Due to this association, a debate emerges as to whether sexual orientation is *natural* or essential to the person, as an *essentialist* believes, or if sexuality is a *social construction* and subject to change.

The essentialist feminists believe that genders "have an essential nature (e.g. nurturing and caring versus being aggressive and selfish), as opposed to differing by a variety of accidental or contingent features brought about by social forces". Due to this belief in the essential nature of a person, it is also natural to assume that a person's sexual preference would be natural and essential to a person's personality.

Important Aspects of Queer Theory

(a) Identity Politics

Queer theory developed out of an examination of perceived limitations in the traditional *identity politics* of recognition and *self-identity*. In particular, queer theorists identified processes of consolidation or stabilization around some other identity labels (e.g. gay and lesbian); and construed queerness so as to resist this. Queer theory attempts to maintain a critique more than define a specific identity.

Acknowledging the inevitable violence of identity politics, and having no stake in its own *ideology*, queer is less an identity than a critique of identity. However, it is in no position to imagine itself outside the circuit of problems energized by identity politics. Instead of defending itself against the criticisms that its operations attract, queer allows those criticisms to shape its – for now unimaginable – future directions. "The term," writes *Butler*, "will be revised, dispelled, and rendered obsolete to the extent that it yields to the demands which resist the term precisely because of the exclusions by which it is mobilized." The mobilization of queer foregrounds the conditions of political representation, its intentions and effects, its resistance to and recovery by the existing networks of power.

(b) Intersex and Role of Biology

Queer theorists focus on problems in classifying individuals as either *male* or *female*, even on a strictly biological basis. For example, the sex *chromosomes* (X and Y) may exist in atypical combinations (as in *syndrome* [XXY]). This complicates the use of *genotype* as a means to define exactly two distinct sexes. *Intersex* individuals may, for various biological reasons, have *sexual characteristics* that the dominant medical discourse regards as *disordered*.

QUEER THEORY

- Queer theory explores the social construction and privileging or denial of identities, sexual behaviour, deviant behaviour and the categorizations and ideologies involved in such constructions.
- Halperin (1997: 62) Queer theory "acquires its meaning from its oppositional relation to the norm Queer is by definition whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate the dominant".
- Queer theory explores, problematizes, interrogates gender, sexuality and also their mediation by other characteristics or form of oppression, e.g. social class, ethnicity, colour, disability.

(c) HIV AIDS

Much of queer theory developed out of a response to the AIDS crisis, which promoted a renewal of radical activism, and the growing homophobia brought about by public responses to AIDS. Queer theory became occupied in part with what effects – put into circulation around the AIDS epidemic – necessitated and nurtured new forms of political organization, education and theorizing in "queer".

To examine the effects that HIV/AIDS has on queer theory is to look at the ways in which the status of the subject or individual is treated in the biomedical discourses that construct them.

1. The shift, affected by safer sex education in emphasizing sexual practices over sexual identities
2. The persistent misrecognition of HIV/AIDS as a gay disease
3. Homosexuality as a kind of fatality
4. The coalition politics of much HIV/AIDS activism that rethinks identity in terms of affinity rather than essence and, therefore, includes not only lesbians and gays but also bisexuals, transsexuals, sex workers, people with AIDS, health workers, and parents and friends of gays; the pressing recognition that discourse is not a separate or second-order reality
5. The constant emphasis on contestation in resisting dominant depictions of HIV and AIDS and representing them otherwise. The rethinking of traditional understandings of the workings of power in cross-hatched struggles over epidemiology, scientific research, public health and immigration policy

(d) Role of Language

Queer theory is likened to language because it is never static, but is ever-evolving. Richard Norton suggests that the existence of queer language is believed to have evolved from the imposing of structures and labels from an external mainstream culture.

This discourse centered on the way that knowledge of sexuality was structured through the use of language. Michel Foucault writes in "*The History of Sexuality*" that from the 17th to the mid-20th century the 'repressive hypothesis' was an illusion, rather a suppression of Western society's sexuality. When 'in fact' discourse about sexuality flourished during this time period.

Criticism on the Theory

Typically, critics of queer theory are concerned that the approach obscures or glosses altogether the material conditions that underpin discourse. Tim Edwards argues that queer theory extrapolates too broadly from textual analysis in undertaking an examination of the social. Adam Green argues that queer theory ignores the social and institutional conditions within which lesbians and gays live. For example, queer theory dismantles social contingency in some cases (homosexual subject positions) while recuperating social contingency in others (racialized subject positions). Thus, not all queer theoretical work is as faithful to its deconstructionist roots. Reflecting on this issue, Timothy Laurie suggests that "the desire to resist norms in some contemporary queer scholarship can never be entirely reconciled with an equally important challenge, that of producing both adequate and dynamic descriptions of ordinary events."

The criticism of queer theory can be divided in three main ideas:

- It has a failing itineration, the "subject-less critique" of queer studies;
- The unsustainable analysis of this failing self;
- The methodological implication that scholars of sexuality end up reiterating and consolidating social categories.

Foucault's account of the modern construction of the homosexual, a starting point for much work in queer theory, is itself challenged by Rictor Norton, using the Molly House as one counter-example of a distinctly homosexual subculture before 1836. He critiques the idea that people distinctly identifying in ways now associated with being gay did not exist before the medical construction of homosexual pathology.

Queer theory underestimates the Foucauldian insight that power produces not just constraint, but also, pleasure, according to Barry Adam (2000) and Adam Isaiah Green (2010). Adam suggests that sexual identity categories, such as "gay", can have the effect of expanding the horizon of what is imaginable in a same-sex relationship, including a richer sense of the possibilities of same-sex love and dyadic commitment. And Green argues that queer is itself an identity category that some self-identified "queer theorists" and "queer activists" use to consolidate a subject-position outside of the normalizing regimes of gender and sexuality. These examples call into question the degree to which identity categories need be thought of as negative, in the evaluative sense of that term, as they underscore the self-determining potentials of the care of the self – an idea advanced first by Foucault.

The role of queer theory, and specifically its replacement of historical and sociological scholarship on lesbian and gay people's lives with the theorizing of lesbian and gay issues, and the displacement of gay and lesbian studies by gender and queer studies, has been criticized by activists. Another criticism is that queer theory, in part because it typically has recourse to a very technical jargon, is written by a narrow elite for that narrow elite. It is, therefore class bias and also, in practice, only really known and referenced at universities and colleges.[3]

[3] Queer Theory: An Introduction First Edition by *Annamarie Jagose*

IS SEX SOCIALLY DETERMINED?

"If Sex/Gender is just a social construct why should society care if a person decides to change their look, and fashion as well as use medical means to achieve the sex and gender they feel most comfortable with? Why should anyone care?"

(Anonymous)

First, let's define what social construct is:

"Social construct is a social mechanism, phenomenon, or category created and developed by society; a perception of an individual, group, or idea that is 'constructed' through cultural or social practice"

The idea that gender difference is socially constructed is a view present in many philosophical and sociological theories about gender. According to this view, society and culture create gender roles, and these roles are prescribed as ideal or appropriate behaviour for a person of that specific gender.

Gender identity is a spectrum, not a binary. Some people are comfortable just adopting the social traits or activities they like and disregarding the rest. For example, someone born male came to work in females' clothing and was generally very feminine in demeanor but whom had zero interest in taking hormones or having surgeries. This person might also commonly have a scruffy beard. A girl that wore very masculine clothing and was rougher and tumble than most guys. She took male hormones until she started growing a beard and then stopped taking the hormones letting the beard grow naturally after that. Some people only feel the need to cross-dress only occasionally and are very happy with the social expectations of their birth sex but feel the need to step outside of society's expectations occasionally, but not constantly.

Game of Hormones

There is evidence that our innate body image might be constructed while just a foetus. At the early stages of development, there are two different washes of sex specific hormones. During one of those, the genitals are forming and getting the wrong wash can result in genitals that do not match chromosomal sex. During a separate period where the brain is developing, the brain is covered by only a thin layer of tissues and no skull. At this time the hormonal wash directly permeates the brain and effects structures in it. It is believed that this is what causes the bulk of the observable physical differences in male and female brains.

Scientists are beginning to think this may lead to a higher rate of gender identity disorders, especially the more serious ones that lead to the eventual transition of sex. We can tell you that people that transition are not doing it just due to purely social pressures but an innate feeling that their body does not match what they feel inside. They look into the mirror and see an image that just feels wrong.

We should also understand that physical appearance is also a factor in social constructs. If we are overweight, people have a certain social construct of "fat person" you become labelled with. If you are shorter than average people have certain social constructs that are associated with "short" or "little person". The same is true for your race, sex, hair colour (blonds vs brunettes vs redheads). Often these constructs are not fair and are full of discrimination and assumptions that are not accurate.

Gender Transition

When a person decides to transition to another sex it is often because the other options that we began with in this answer were not sufficient to allow them to live fulfilling and meaningful lives. Most transgender individuals start out by cross-dressing or dress in generally androgynous attire in their daily lives (Soft coloured, loose t-shirts and slacks for example). For some this is not enough for them to fully express themselves. Maybe you were born a male but you want to be able to look good in a bra and panties that fit your body and want clothes that hug your curves like any other woman. Maybe you were born female but dislike the soft skin and body tone and want to take off your shirt flex your muscles and really dig in enjoying male activities such as sports or construction. We are, of course, using very general examples and these will not apply to everyone. The fact is the reasons to transition are as numerous and varied as the person that transitions.

The fact is most people that transition never really felt comfortable in the gender society labelled them with. A young child born physically male may have always wanted to go to slumber parties and buy a cute dress and flirt with boys (or girls) like any other girl. Or a young child may have been born physically female but hated long hair, skirts, girlie fashions and loved sports and male bonding activities.

Social constructs may just be concepts or ideas but there are very real differences emotionally and physically between the sexes. These differences and general leanings towards certain activities often get magnified and generalized into the concepts we call male and female. Although most women may generally fit more of the concepts we associate with a girl more than boy almost none of them will fit every concept we generally associate with those ideas. A spectrum not a binary.

It's just some people are born with a body that is on the opposite side of that spectrum compared with their mind. If Transgender people could live meaningful and happy lives by just changing a few behaviours or adopting a few traits and not go through painful, dangerous and expensive surgeries... THEY WOULD. As you can't just rewrite your mind and you can fix your body with surgeries they are often the only rational course to take in such cases. Denying surgeries to persons that need them often leads to depression so bad that more than half attempt suicide at least once.

Men and women are demonstrably different and not just in the sexual bits.

- Men and women have different responses that can be imaged in the brain to smells, sights, sounds and pain.
- Men and women have different emotional responses and different chemical and hormonal responses to emotion, sounds and imagery.
- Men and women have different abilities to tolerate heat, cold and pain.
- More than all of that: men and women have different structural differences in the brain.

What is even more interesting than that is that male to female transsexual brains tend to match the female structures more than the male and vice versa for female to males. This is true even before they begin hormone therapy.

GENDER EVOLUTION

Doing Gender

Our conception of what women and men are and what they are supposed to be is produced by the society in which we live. Thus, many people say that gender is "socially constructed". The day-to-day, continuous production of gender has been called doing gender, meaning that gender is "made" by us in everyday lives in our interactions with others. Processes of doing gender are not only carried on in our society by individuals, but also through socially-standardizing practices such as legislation or the institutions of the family and marriage. "Doing gender" thrives on continually establishing a dual order of two sexes. At the latest after birth, and often even before, people are divided into two sex categories – boy or girl. From these categories gender characteristics are derived, like blue and pink....... In the course of her or his life, the human being is then "made" into a girl or woman or a boy or man in a complex process of rearing and education, social norms and values, stereotypes, identification, images and traditions.

What is noticeable is that conceptions of women and men are subject to change over time. What is supposed to be feminine or masculine is historically defined. What is more important, however, that the one same difference is put forward time and again, and for this reason alone becomes important. The differentiation into two sexes is politically relevant, because evaluations are linked with it, which assign different modes of action to the genders.

On the other hand, it is often the case that it is not the one difference between the sexes which is most decisive, but that other social differences are far more important. It can be assumed today that women and men are not homogeneous groups, but that differences within the groups of women and of men can often become relevant. For instance, the social status or ethnic origin or skin colour can be a deciding factor for people who then also differentiate according to gender. On the other hand, clear-cut inequalities between women and men are hardly effective any more. In other words, it is not a matter of two colours, but of the entire colour spectrum.

Medical definitions of Gender

Modern medical definitions of gender are also multidimensional. Gender is defined in the standard (German) medical work in five dimensions: chromosomal, genital, mental and social. It is pointed out that there is a broad area of overlap in behavioural tendencies between the genders. Deviations from the two-gender norm, such as "trans-sexuality" or "intersexuality" are medically classified, however, according to the International Classification of Diseases (ICD 10) as gender identity disorders. People affected by these conditions, however, experience the unambiguous classification into woman or man as social compulsion and discrimination. Intersexual, previously called hermaphrodites, possess both male and female physical attributes. In one out of every two thousand births, the sex of a new-born baby cannot be unambiguously determined. Since the 1950s gender assignment operations have been carried out on infants and children in which ambiguous genitals are changed surgically to fit in with traditional conceptions of female or male genitalia. Transsexuals have unambiguous physical attributes, but do not feel that they belong to the gender represented by their bodies.

"Tran's identities" are scientifically discussed and researched in Queer Studies. Queer Theory sets itself the task of analyzing and questioning social discourses of normality concerning sex, gender and sexuality. The beginnings of Queer Theory are closely connected with movements in social politics which have the aim of de-pathologizing people with a transgender identity and are fighting for diversity in gender lifestyles.

MASCULINITIES AND FEMINITY

MASCULINITY

Both men and women can exhibit masculine traits and behaviour. Those exhibiting both masculine and feminine characteristics are considered androgynous, and feminist philosophers have argued that gender ambiguity may blur gender classification. Masculine traits include courage, independence and assertiveness. The term "masculinity" is associated with the biological male sex and the qualities or appearance that are traditionally associated with men. However, in gender related areas, masculinity, or masculinities, is understood more as a social, cultural and temporal construct, rather than a biological one. In consonance with R.W. Connell's exposition, the term relates to perceived notions and ideals about how men should, or are expected to, behave in a given setting. Thus, masculinity and femininity are relational concepts, which only have meaning in relation to each other. As configurations of practice structured by gender relations, masculinities are inherently historical and their making and remaking is a political process affecting the balance of interests in society and the direction of social change.

TRAITS COMMONLY ASSOCIATED WITH MASCULINITY

1. **Present** – Being in the moment and completely attentive to the person he is with or the event he is at.
2. **Grounded** – In touch with reality and able to resist pressure and events around him.
3. **Contained** – Able to provide all his own needs and able to provide the needs of others, allowing them to feel safe.
4. **Focused** – Completely absorbed by the task in hand and not distracted by what else is happening.
5. **Potent** – Being strong and powerful and fully in charge of his sexuality.
6. **Dynamic** – Able keep going, to endure and to be full of energy.
7. **Independent.** Are you always *crying about politics*, saying that life will be good for everyone if "your man" is elected? Do you complain that the government has not done enough to boost the economy? Then you are dependent upon the government for your economic success.
8. **Non-emotional.** Do you cry when people say things that hurt your feelings? Have you ever reported an online message board post to a moderator because it was "mean"? When your boss is being an ass do you become a sad little panda.
9. **Aggressive.** Are you afraid of approaching women? Do you take what is yours or complain that there is a lack of opportunity? Can you *survive a street fight*, or would you become a victim of the Knockout Game.
10. **Tough-skinned.** Does a rhinoceros know when a gnat is on its back? Do you stew and brew over real and perceived slights? See also number 2, above.
11. **Competitive.** Do you try making yourself better each day? Do you grind out extra reps in *The Weight Room, look for a side hustle*, and constantly improve?
12. **Strong, active, and self-confident.** Do you *walk like a man?* Are you in the gym and *reading every day?* Do you have the *posture of an alpha male?* Or do you walk with slouching shoulders and hold your head down like a slave before going home to play Xbox 360. Do you live by the *Twin Pillars of Alpha?*

13. **Hard.** When life gets tough do you push through or do you quit? Are you afraid of drinking a *green juice* and instead look for your milk and cookies? Even worse, are you so defeated and demoralized by life that *you become a drunk?*
14. **Sexually aggressive.** Any loser can be horny. When you see a woman do you decide that you are going to be a man and make your move?

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY

> **WE ARE BORN MALE OR FEMALE, BUT NOT MASCULINE OR FEMININE.**
>
> Sandra Bartky

Scholars of masculinity discuss men and masculinity as socially constructed. Rather than focusing on biological universals, social and behavioural scientists investigate the different meanings that masculinity and femininity have in different contexts. While biological "maleness" varies very little, the roles, behaviours, bodies, and identities that are thought of as "masculine" vary enormously. This variation allows scholars to argue that masculinity is socially constructed. Scholars of masculinity come from diverse disciplines, and these various backgrounds illustrate the multiple levels of variation in masculinity. First, masculinity varies *historically*—what is thought of as masculine changes over time. Second, masculinity varies *cross-culturally*—conceptualizations of masculinity are culturally specific. Third, masculinity varies *intra-psychically*—what it means to be a man changes over the course of one's life. Finally, masculinity varies *contextually*—even within a given society and time period, masculinity can mean different things to different people. Simply put, not all American or Nigerian or Chinese or Australian men are the same.

Expressing Masculanity

Masculinity Studies is an interdisciplinary field of cultural, social, historical, political, psychological, economic and artistic analysis that interrogates the constructions of masculinity in communities across the world and at various times in history. It also looks at the tense and complex relationship between hegemonic masculinities (that is, the idea of a "real man" in a given time and place) and subordinate masculinities (masculinities that, in a given time and place, fall short of the "real man" ideal). For example, being involved in sports and being a provider are the examples of American hegemonic masculinity, while shunning sports and being a stay-at-home-dad are examples of subordinate masculinities. Usually, hegemonic masculinities have power and meet with social approval, while subordinate ones do not. Throughout history, men have paid a steep price for not adhering to, or consciously resisting, hegemonic models. Masculinity-studies scholars know, however, that times change, and that what was subordinate half a century ago, may be relatively mainstream, if not hegemonic, now. Because masculinity-studies scholars realize that sex and gender are separate entities, they also study the lives of, and become advocates for, transgender individuals who are born biologically female but live as men.

More specifically, "being a man" means something very different to a college-age, white, heterosexual boy living in Maine than it does to a middle-age, homosexual, Latino man living in San Francisco. Since masculinity varies so much, we cannot speak of "it" as though it were a timeless essence common among all men. Rather, we must speak of "masculinities" precisely

because masculinity means different things to different people in different cultures and in different historical periods. Studies of men and masculinities take lead from feminist studies of women and gender and seeks to both identify the social construction of gender as well as illuminate the ways that men play a role in gender and sexual inequality. Thus studies of masculinity seek to highlight both the collective privileges from which men as a group benefit as well as the disadvantages that certain groups of men face.

Relationship between Masculinity and Identity

The relationship between masculinity, identity and gender as social structure has changed somewhat during the various phases of development with the sociology of masculinity. Early influences tended to draw heavily on notions of gender role and its 'strains' or 'discrepancies' for men. Thus, social constructionists argue that gender role theory was inadequate for exploring male power and failed to fully recognize differences between male and female. The strength of post-structuralism accounts of masculinity, especially those which draw on Jacques and Foucault, is that they offer a means by which to link social action and power relations with identity processes, without, however, falling into a deterministic understanding of power relations as an ideologically inspired, unchanging structure.

From a post-structuralism perspective, identity is understood as always in process, never finally accomplished. So in this regard, there is no core, grounded, or fixed self, but rather a fluid arrangement of multiple subject positions which together provide the means by which the individual achieves a sense of identity. The importance of masculinity to this process of identity work is in the validation it can give to this fluid self. So, if we accept there is no core self, then socially dominant forms of being a male (masculinities) can be seen to provide an acceptable means by which boys and men may express their gender and thus their sense of identity.

In taking up these localized and culturally specific signifying practices, males achieve an association with other males and also a differentiation from the 'Other' not only women but also those males who appear 'different'.

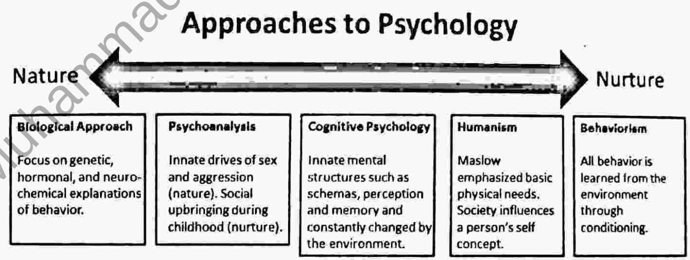
The difference is usually marked by sexual orientation, but can also include forms of embodiment and ethnicity, as well as national and cultural variations of masculine performance. Because individuals do not have biologically fixed identities, any sense of self can only come about through working to achieve a sense of 'belonging' in the social world. However, 'belonging' is not an automatic process, and so for most men masculine performance is central to achieving entry to, and being accepted within, any particular 'community' of men. This desire for belonging creates, then, both gender and an individual's sense of self. As Bell describes it, "identity is the effect of performance and not vice versa." Such understandings do not assume that males are passive in this process of identity work; this is not simply a case of all-powerful gender socialization. Rather, all individuals are skilled at creating themselves, but within the parameters of their social and cultural experience, factors which are also subject to change. Men and masculinity suggest that masculinity is intimately linked to wider social and cultural transformations within the British nation-state and other western countries and that the assumed crisis of masculinity can be read as an effect of the wider crisis of late modernity. The question of identity has once again emerged as one of the key dynamic.

Life is about polarity. Its yin and yang. Feminine women want masculine men.

NATURE VERSUS CULTURE: A DEBATE IN GENDER DEVELOPMENT

Nature and Culture

The relationship between nature and culture has been a common and contested theme in the discipline due to the argument of *whether the nature--culture dichotomy is a given universal or a constructed reality relative to one's own culture.* According to Susan Ortner, "Much of the creativity of anthropology derives from the tension between the demands for explanation of human universals on the one hand and cultural particulars on the other." The question lies in whether anthropologists perceive a difference between nature and culture. *Is one a social construct and the other a separately functioning biological entity? Or are they both one and the same, forming a harmonious relationship with no obvious beginning and end?*

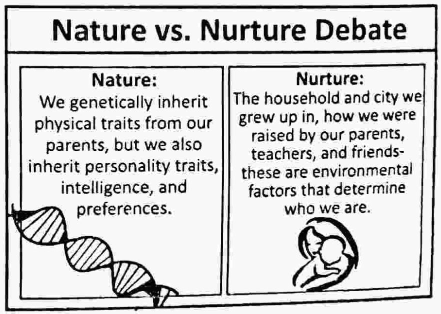


A French anthropologist Levi Strauss was firm in the argument of a divide, writing that there existed "only two true models of concrete diversity: one on the plane of nature, namely that of the diversity of species, and the other on the cultural plane provided by the diversity of functions."

Strauss' View

According to him, "The symmetry postulated between nature and culture involves the assimilation of natural species on the cultural plane."

The categories of "nature" and "culture" are, of course, conceptual categories – one can find no boundary out in the actual world between the two states or realms of being. And there is no question that some cultures articulate a much stronger opposition between the



two categories than others – it has even been argued that primitive peoples (some or all) do not see or intuit any distinction between the human cultural state and the state of nature at all. Universality of ritual betokens an assertion in all human cultures of the specifically human ability to act upon and regulate, rather than passively move with and be moved by, the givens of natural existence. In ritual, the purposive manipulation of given forms toward regulating and sustaining order, every culture asserts that proper relations between human existence and natural forces depend upon culture's employing its special powers to regulate the overall processes of the world and life.

So who is the 'natural species' Levi Strauss refers to? It seems that his writing, coming from *The Savage Mind*, reflects the discipline's expansion of the nature –culture debate in the 1960s and 1970s to include the idea that *women could be symbolized as nature* and *men as culture*. Describing women as biological individuals was not enough for Levi Strauss, as he argued they were actually "natural products naturally procreated by other biological individuals." Continuing his comparison as women to objects, he differentiated them from 'goods and services,' which he described as "manufactured objects (or operations performed by means of techniques and manufactured objects), that is, social products culturally manufactured by technical agents. The principle difference, he concluded, is that one 'thing' is derived from culture and the other from nature. Levi Strauss writes of culture's dominance over nature when he states that nature considers women as homogeneous but culture "asserts them all to be subject to the same type of beliefs and practices since in the eyes of culture, they have the common feature that man has the power to control and increase them."

> **Nature and Nurture**
>
> - Nature or heredity
>   The transmission of characteristics from ancestors to their descendants by means of genes (what is "built into a person" from the beginning.
>
> - Nurture or environment
>   The surroundings in which a person finds him/herself. These surroundings affect the development of the person.

Is female to male as nature is to culture

Sherry Ortner makes two clear arguments in regard to the relationship between nature and culture. First, she sees *culture as an entity that has the ability to act upon and transform nature*. Second, she equates the relationship of nature and culture to "the universal devaluation of women." Ortner repeatedly professes bold universals in discussing the dichotomy, which one might argue are generalizations, such as her statement that "in every known culture, woman is considered in some degree inferior to man." Ortner believes nature and culture are both categories of human thought as "there is no place out in the real world where one could find some actual boundary between the two states or realms of being."

Ortner's View

Ortner focuses on the universality of rituals as "an assertion in all human cultures of the specifically human ability to act upon and regulate, rather than passively move with and be moved by, the givens of natural existence." *What makes culture distinct, according to Ortner, is that it has the power to transcend the natural and manipulate it for its own purpose. She defines culture specifically as this process of transcendence*, "by means of systems of thought and technology, of the natural givens of existence. At some level, every culture incorporates this notion in one form or

another, if only through the performance of ritual as an assertion of the human ability to manipulate those givens." As a result, culture is not only clearly distinct from nature but its ability to transform nature actually makes it superior.

Culture dominates over nature, according to Ortner, because it is identified nearly everywhere with men, occupying the higher positions to perform the tasks and rituals to create and sustain culture. *Ortner argues that* "the universal devaluation of women could be explained by postulating that woman is seen as 'closer to nature' than men, men being seen as more unequivocally occupying the high ground of 'culture.

In examining women in nearly every society, as Ortner asserts, they are generally viewed as more symbolic of nature than men. Several reasons are given, such as a woman's direct bodily involvement with reproduction or with her assigned, socialized role that leaves her within the confines of the subordinate domestic household. It is clarified that in reality, when examining a woman in a biological sense, she is not closer to nature than man, since both are mortal beings with consciousness. But when examining a woman's less powerful, if even non-existent role in culture's rituals as well as her focus on child-rearing tasks, she appears that way.

Although it is professed in the universality of women as closer to nature, she later contradicts her own statements when she argues that actually women occupy an intermediate space between the nature — culture divide.

Ortner writes, "since she is the one that is in charge of the socialization of children, the woman is "a member of culture, yet appearing to have stronger and more direct connections with nature, she is seen as something in between the two categories." Women, according to Ortner, are the primary agents of socialization for children, transforming them from "a mere organism to a cultured human, teaching them manners and the proper ways to behave in order to be a bonafide member of the culture." On that function alone, women should be seen as a symbol of culture just as equally as men.

Universal devaluation of women?

We could, of course, rest the case on biological determinism. There is something genetically inherent in the male of the species, so the biological determinists would argue, that makes them the naturally dominant sex; that "something" is lacking in females, and as a result women are not only naturally subordinate but in general quite satisfied with their position, since it affords them protection and the opportunity to maximize maternal pleasures, which to them are the most satisfying experiences of life. Without going into a detailed refutation of this position, we think it fair to say that it has failed to be established to the satisfaction of almost anyone in academic anthropology.

This is to say, not that biological facts are irrelevant, or that men and women are not different, but that these facts and differences only take on significance of superior/inferior within the framework of culturally defined value systems. If we are unwilling to rest the case on genetic determinism, it seems that we have only one way to proceed. We must attempt to interpret female subordination in the light of other universals, factors built into the structure of the most generalized situation in which all human beings, in whatever culture, find themselves. For example, every human being has a physical body and a sense of nonphysical mind, is part of a society of other individuals and an inheritor of a cultural tradition, and must engage in some relationship, however mediated, with "nature," or the nonhuman realm, in order to survive.

Every human being is born (to a mother) and ultimately dies, all are assumed to have an interest in personal survival, and society/culture has its own interest in (or at least momentum towards) continuity and survival, which transcends the lives and deaths of particular individuals. And so forth. It is in the realm of such universals of the human condition that we must seek an explanation for the universal fact of female devaluation. We translate the problem, in other words, into the following simple question. What could there be in the generalized structure and conditions of existence, common to every culture, that would lead every culture to place a lower value upon women? Specifically, our thesis is that woman is being identified with – or, if you will, seems to be a symbol of – something that every culture devalues, something that every culture defines as being of a lower order of existence than itself. Now it seems that there is only one thing that would fit that description, and that is "nature" in the most generalized sense. Every culture, or, generically, "culture," is engaged in the process of generating and sustaining systems of meaningful forms (symbols, artefacts, etc.) by means of which humanity transcends the givens of natural existence, bends them to its purposes, and controls them in its interest. We may thus broadly equate culture with the notion of human consciousness, or with the products of human consciousness (i.e., systems of thought and technology), by means of which humanity attempts to assert control over nature.

Why Is Woman Seen as Closer to Nature?

It all begins, of course, with the body and the natural procreative functions specific to women alone. We can sort out for discussion three levels at which this absolute physiological fact has significance:

1. Woman's body and its functions, more involved, most of the time with "species life," seem to place her closer to nature, in contrast to man's physiology, which frees him more completely to take up the projects of culture;
2. Woman's body and its functions place her in social roles that, in turn, are considered to be at a lower order of the cultural process than man's; and
3. Woman's traditional social roles, imposed because of her body and its functions, in turn give her a different psychic structure, which, like her physiological nature and her social roles, is seen as being closer to nature.[4]

Conclusions

Ultimately, it must be stressed again that the whole scheme is a construct of culture rather than a fact of nature. Woman is not "in reality" any closer to (or further from) nature than man – both have consciousness, both are mortal. But there are certainly reasons why she appears that way, which is what we have tried to show in this discussion. The result is a (sadly) efficient feedback system: various aspects of woman's situation (physical, social, psychological) contribute to her being seen as closer to nature, while the view of her as closer to nature is, in turn, embodied in institutional forms that reproduce her situation. The implications for social change are similarly circular: a different cultural view can only grow out of a different social actuality; a different social actuality can only grow out of a different cultural view. It is clear, then, that the situation must be attacked from both sides.

[4] Queer Theory, Gender Theory: An Instant Prime Book by Riki Wilchins

Efforts directed solely at changing the social institutions – through setting quotas on hiring, for example, or through passing equal-pay-for-equal-work laws – cannot have far-reaching effects if cultural language and imagery continue to purvey a relatively devalued view of women. But, at the same time, efforts directed solely at changing cultural assumptions – through male and female consciousness-raising groups, for example, or through revision of educational materials and mass-media imagery – cannot be successful unless the institutional base of the society is changed to support and reinforce the changed cultural view. Ultimately, both men and women can and must be equally involved in projects of creativity and transcendence. Only then will women be seen as aligned with culture, in culture's ongoing dialectic with nature.

Key Points

- Social constructionism is the notion that people's understanding of reality is partially, if not entirely, socially situated.
- Gender is a social identity that needs to be contextualized.
- Individuals internalize social expectations for gender norms and behave accordingly.

CHAPTER 3

FEMINIST THEORIES AND PRACTICE

FEMINISM AND FEMINIST THEORY

Feminism is the belief in the social, political and economic equality of the sexes. Feminist activism is the struggle for that equality. Feminism is the radical notion that women are people. In other words, feminism is a commitment to achieving the equality of the sexes. This radical notion is not exclusive to women: men, while benefiting from being the dominant sex, also have a stake in overcoming the restrictive roles that deprive them of full humanity.

Feminism consists of ideas and beliefs about what culture is like for women just because they are women, compared to what the world is like for men just because they are men. In ethical terms, this form or aspect of feminism is *descriptive*. The assumption in feminism is that women are not treated equally to men, and that women are disadvantaged in comparison to men.

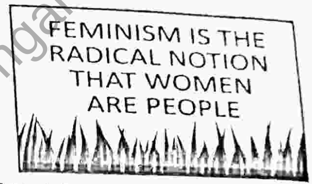


Though the media has maligned feminism as a drive for selfish fulfilment by female professionals, those who stand to gain the most are actually those who have the least. The demand for full equality for all women is profoundly radicalizing when it addresses the additional layers of discrimination women experience because of class, race, sexuality, disability, and age, and also the heightened impact on women and children of war, poverty and environmental degradation. Multi-issue feminism quickly develops into a critique of the whole social system.

Feminism as Historical Entity and Process

Feminism is influenced by, sometimes even determined by, its enemies. In some parts of Africa, feminism means a fight against female genital mutilation; in the middle ages it would have meant a fight for witches' right to live; in the Western, world a hundred years ago, it meant a fight for women's right to hold property, to divorce, to vote, to be recognized as adult legal subjects. And in the Western world today, it means a fight against tacit and institutionalized collectivist and misogynist beliefs derived from gender roles and other sex-based prejudices.

The common thread running through these different periods and places is captured by the definition above. It involves a theory about and a commitment to men and women being equals, in all spheres of life. Equals in standing, possibility, freedom and range of choice.



This is the core of all feminist theories. This "core feminism" or "core feminist theory" doesn't prescribe or presuppose neither differences between men and women nor similarities between men and women, nor does it require excluding men or only furthering women's causes.

Feminists, as a rule, assume that there are few, if any, inherent, unchangeable differences between men and women; only a lot of individual differences and variation. Patriarchalists claim the existence of many universal and immutable differences between men and women, seeking to understate, marginalize and suppress individual differences in an attempt to create two universal gender forms or essences that everybody must be squeezed into. In other words, Lamont's claim that most feminists are polylogists is wrong. Only a minority of feminists are polylogists; but virtually all patriarchalists are polylogists. They follow a schema of rationalizations starting with biological, immutable gender essences that are used to justify polylogist beliefs about men's and women's minds, and from there they move on to justify different treatment and expectations of girls and boys, women and men, pretending that gender roles are natural, inborn and immutable. One typical example is John Gray's *Men are from Mars, women are from Venus*, which has been concisely and extensively criticized by feminist women and men from Earth

New Age Feminism

New Age feminism has emerged in the 21st century as both a continuation of and response to Second and Third Wave feminism. It challenges "traditional definitions of femininity and embraces a change in times, incorporating elements of ethnicity, girl power, individualist feminism, sex-positivity and postmodernism." In New Age feminism, a woman (or man) embraces the qualities in him or herself that have culturally been defined as "feminine" without shame, while still fighting against the discrimination women (and "feminine" men) still face in the workplace and other facets of 21st century society. This movement comes in response to a culture that "simultaneously claims to embrace the equality of men and women and at the same time seriously devalues femininity".

Unlike Second and Third Wave feminists, a New Age feminist does not demand women be treated the same way as a man, but rather that the differences between men and women be recognized, understood, and accommodated even while those differences are treated with equity.

For this reason, she does not deny her female biology (whether physical, hormonal, or psychological), and demands it be accommodated for while still not allowing it to justify oppression. She supports scientific studies into the biologically influenced differences between those with male and female bodies and accepts that traits culturally defined as "feminine" like being moody, emotionally articulate, gentle, or quiet, are "rooted in biology, not intended to mesh with any kind of pro- or anti-feminist ideology."

Career and Family

New Age feminists are not afraid to have children or to get married should they choose to, nor do they feel shame for choosing not to. A New Age feminist knows there is great joy in both a career and a family, and feels entitled to both. This feminist is not looking for special treatment, or even purely equal treatment. She is looking for equitable treatment, respect in the workplace, and equal opportunity. She champions the rights of working women to become pregnant, take maternity leave, and nurse in public, while still getting paid as much as her male counterparts. Meanwhile, she lends her support to slut walks, sex workers, belly and poll dancers, free the Nipple campaigns, as well as anti-harassment and anti-victim blaming movements. She denounces sexual exploitation, but also believes in a woman's (or anyone's) right to explore and be empowered by their own "feminine" sexuality.

Most feminists do not hate men and many New Age feminists may have at some point in their lives identified as men, or are in love with or have close relationships with men. Nor do they reject certain male practices like chivalry and sexual dominance as long as they are performed consensually.

EXAMPLES OF NEW AGE FEMINISTS ARE LADY GAGA, AND BEYONCÉ

Basic Feminist Ideas

Both females and males who identify themselves as feminists disagree on many things. That being said, most feminists agree on four basic principles:

- **Working to increase equality**: Feminist thought links ideas to action, insisting we should push for change toward gender equality and not just talk about it.
- **Expanding human choice**: Feminists believe that both men and women should have the freedom to develop their human interests and talents, even if those interests and talents conflict with the status quo. For example, if a woman wants to be a mechanic, she should have the right and opportunity to do so.
- **Eliminating gender stratification**: Feminists oppose laws and cultural norms that limit income, educational and job opportunities for women.
- **Ending sexual violence** and **promoting sexual freedom**: Feminists feel that women should have control over their sexuality and reproduction.

FEMINIST THEORY

Feminist theory is one of the major contemporary sociological theories, which analyses the status of women and men in society with the purpose of using that knowledge to better women's lives. Feminist theorists also question the differences between women, including how race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, nationality, and age intersect with gender. Contemporary sociologist Patricia Hill Collins is known throughout the field for developing, deploying, and popularizing the concept of intersectionality in her theory and research.

Feminist theory is most concerned with giving a voice to women and highlighting the various ways women have contributed to society.

There are four main types of feminist theory that attempt to explain the societal differences between men and women:

1. Gender Differences

The gender difference perspective examines how women's location in, and experience of, social situations differ from men's. For example, cultural feminists look to the different values associated with womanhood and femininity as a reason why men and women experience the social world differently. Other feminist theorists believe that the different roles assigned to women and men within institutions better explain gender difference, including the sexual division of labour in the household. Existential and phenomenological feminists focus on how women have been marginalized and defined as the "other" in patriarchal societies. Women are thus seen as objects and are denied the opportunity for self-realization.

2. Gender Inequality

Gender-inequality theories recognize that women's location in, and experience of, social situations are not only different but also unequal to men's. Liberal feminists argue that women have the same capacity as men for moral reasoning and agency, but that patriarchy, particularly the sexist patterning of the division of labour, has historically denied women the opportunity to express and practice this reasoning. Women have been isolated to the private sphere of the household and, thus, left without a voice in the public sphere. Even after women enter the public sphere, they are still expected to manage the private sphere and take care of household duties and child rearing. Liberal feminists point out that marriage is a site of gender inequality and that women do not benefit from being married as men do. Indeed, married women have higher levels of stress than unmarried women and married men. According to liberal feminists, the sexual division of labour in both the public and private spheres needs to be altered in order for women to achieve equality.

3. Gender Oppression

Theories of gender oppression go further than theories of gender difference and gender inequality by arguing that not only are women different from or unequal to men, but that they are actively oppressed, subordinated, and even abused by men. Power is the key variable in the two main theories of gender oppression: psychoanalytic feminism and radical feminism. Psychoanalytic feminists attempt to explain power relations between men and women by reformulating Freud's theories of the subconscious and unconscious, human emotions, and childhood development. They feel that conscious calculation cannot fully explain the production and reproduction of patriarchy. Radical feminists argue that being a woman is a positive thing in and of itself, but that this is not acknowledged in patriarchal societies where women are oppressed. They identify physical violence as being at the base of patriarchy, but they think that patriarchy can be defeated if women recognize their own value and strength, establish a sisterhood of trust with other women, confront oppression critically, and form female separatist networks in the private and public spheres.

4. Structural Oppression

Structural oppression theories posit that women's oppression and inequality are a result of capitalism, patriarchy and racism. Socialist feminists agree with Karl Marx and Friedich Engels that the working class is exploited as a consequence of the capitalist mode of production, but they seek to extend this exploitation not just to class but also to gender. Intersectionality theorists seek to explain oppression and inequality across a variety of variables, including class, gender, race,

ethnicity, and age. They make the important insight that not all women experience oppression in the same way. White women and black women, for example, face different forms of discrimination in the workplace. Thus, different groups of women come to view the world through a shared standpoint of "heterogeneous commonality."

Criticism on Feminist Theory

A criticism advocating equal rights for women in a political, economic, social, psychological, personal, and aesthetic sense. On the thematic level, the feminist reader should identify with female characters and their concerns. The object is to provide a critique of phallocentric assumptions and an analysis of patriarchal visions or ideologies inscribed in a literature that is male-centred and male-dominated. The scholars refused to accept the cult of masculine virility and superiority that reduces woman to a sex object, a second sex, a submissive other. "Feminist criticism is a political act whose aim is not simply to interpret the world but to change it by changing the consciousness of those who read and their relation to what they read. The first act of a feminist critic is to become a resisting rather than an assenting reader and, by this refusal to assent, to begin the process of exorcizing the male mind that has been implanted in us." On the thematic level, then, the reader rejects stereotypes and examines woman as a theme in literary works.

On the ideological level, the reader seeks to learn not to accept the hegemonic perspective of the male and refuses to be co-opted by a gender-biased criticism. Gender is largely a cultural construct, as are the stereotypes that go along with it: that the male is active, dominating, and rational, whereas the female is passive, submissive, and emotional. Gynocritics strive to define a particularly feminine content and to extend the canon so that it might include works by lesbians, feminists, and women writers in general. According to Elaine Showalter, gynocriticism is concerned with "woman as the producer of textual meaning, with the history, themes, genres, and structures of literature by women. Its subjects include the psychodynamics of female creativity; linguistics and the problem of a female language; the trajectory of the individual or collective female literary career; literary history; and, of course, studies of particular writers and works."

On the deconstructionist level, the aim is to dismantle and subvert the logocentric assumptions of male discourse – its valorization of being, meaning, truth, reason, and logic, its metaphysics of presence. Logo-centrism is phallocentric (hence the neologism "phallogocentrism"); it systematically privileges paternal over maternal power, the intelligible over the sensible. Patriarchal authority demands unity of meaning and is obsessed with certainty of origin. The French feminists in particular construe "woman" as any radical force that subverts the concepts, assumptions, and structures of traditional male discourse the realism, rationality, mastery, and explanation that undergird it. By contrast, the American and British feminists mainly engage in empirical and thematic studies of writings by and about women. Feminist literary criticism, arising in conjunction with sociopolitical feminism, critiques patriarchal language and literature by exposing how these reflect masculine ideology. It examines gender politics in works and traces the subtle construction of masculinity and femininity, and their relative status, positioning, and marginalizations within works.

Beyond making us aware of the marginalizing uses of traditional language (the presumptuousness of the pronoun "he," or occupational words such as "mailman") feminists

focused on language have noticed a stylistic difference in women's writing: women tend to use reflexive constructions more than men (e.g., "She found herself crying"). They have noticed that women and men tend to communicate differently: men directed towards solutions, women towards connecting. Feminist criticism concern itself with stereotypical representations of genders. It also may trace the history of relatively unknown or undervalued women writers, potentially earning them their rightful place within the literary canon, and helps create a climate in which women's creativity may be fully realized and appreciated.

One will frequently hear the term "patriarchy" used among feminist critics, referring to traditional male-dominated society. "Marginalization" refers to being forced to the outskirts of what is considered socially and politically significant; the female voice was traditionally marginalized, or discounted altogether.

TYPES OF FEMINISM

As with every social movement, feminism encompasses a variety of political tendencies. There are three main types of feminism: socialist, reformist, and radical/separatist, but before talking about socialist feminism in particular, it is very important to understand the subtle difference that exist between socialist feminism and Marxist feminism.

Socialist feminism vs. Marxist feminism

> **Social progress can be measured by the social position of the female sex.**
>
> -Karl Marx

"Although it is possible to distinguish between Marxist and socialist feminist thoughts, it is quite difficult to do so. It is believed that the differences between these two schools of thought are more a matter of emphasis than of substance. Marxist feminists tend to pay their respects directly to Marx, Engels, and other nineteenth-century thinkers; they also tend to identify classism rather than sexism as the ultimate cause of women's oppression. In contrast, socialist feminists seem more influenced by twentieth-century thinkers such as Louis Althusser and Jurgen Habermas. Moreover, they insist the fundamental cause of women's oppression is neither "classism" nor "sexism" but an intricate interplay between capitalism and patriarchy. In the final analysis, however, the differences between Marxist and socialist feminists are not nearly as important as their common conviction. Marxist and socialist feminists alike believe women's oppression is not the result of individuals' intentional actions but is the product of the political, social, and economic structures within which individuals live.

Socialist feminism traces the oppression of women to inequalities that developed in connection with the class system of private property. Socialist feminists view gender inequalities as intrinsic to the capitalist system, which makes vast profits off women's unpaid labour in the home and underpaid labour in the workforce. Like racism, homophobia and other forms of bigotry, sexism divides the working class and thereby allows the capitalists to make super-profits. Because these different forms of oppression have a common source, they also have a

common solution: socialism. Socialist feminists seek to eliminate the capitalist system and replace it with socialism, which collectively shares the wealth created by human labour and has no economic stake in maintaining exploitation. Socialist feminists believe that the leadership of women and other oppressed people in a worker-run democracy will be able to root out chauvinist practices and psychology quite quickly. Radical Women is today's leading socialist feminist women's organization. Since its inception it has called for multi-issue organizing strategies, independent from capitalist political parties that prioritize the needs of the most oppressed women. Radical Women is affiliated with the Freedom Socialist Party, a revolutionary socialist feminist party of men and women.

Reformist feminists believe that gender inequality can be eliminated through legislative or electoral reforms without the need to alter the capitalist system itself. Groups such as the National Organization for Women and NARAL/Pro-Choice America typify reformist feminism. Because they limit their efforts to what can be achieved within the current system, they orient primarily to more privileged white, middle class women many of whose needs can be at least partially or temporarily ameliorated by reforms. Their approach is single-issue and aimed at swaying politicians and donors.

Radical feminists target male psychology or biology as the source of women's oppression. The most extreme form of radical feminism is separatism, which advocates a total break with men. By posing an all-inclusive sisterhood as the solution to patriarchy, radical feminists overlook the class differences that prevent women as a whole from having the same interests. They often minimize the importance of solidarity between women and men of colour in the fight against racism. They tend to ignore issues that don't relate directly to a narrowly defined female experience. The magazine off our backs and the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival are long-established upholders of radical feminist ideology.

Liberal Feminism

This is the variety of feminism that works within the structure of mainstream society to integrate women into that structure. Its roots stretch back to the social contract theory of government instituted by the American Revolution. Abigail Adams and Mary Wollstonecraft were there from the start, proposing equality for women. As is often the case with liberals, they slog along inside the system, getting little done amongst the compromises until some radical movement shows up and pulls those compromises left of center. This is how it operated in the days of the suffragist movement and again with the emergence of the radical feminists. In particular, liberal feminists are concerned about the constitutional or legal reforms.

Cultural Feminism

As radical *feminism* died out as a movement, cultural feminism got rolling. In fact, many of the same people moved from the former to the latter. They carried the name "radical feminism" with them, and some cultural feminists use that name still. Feminist frameworks don't even list cultural feminism as a framework separate from radical feminism, but Echols spells out the distinctions in great detail. The difference between the two is quite striking: whereas radical feminism was a movement to transform society, cultural feminism retreated to vanguardism, working instead to build a women's culture. Some of this effort has had some social benefit: rape crisis centers, for example; and of course many cultural feminists have been active in social issues (but as individuals, not as part of a movement).

As various 1960s movements for social change fell apart or got co-opted, folks got pessimistic about the very possibility of social change. Many of them turned their attention to building alternatives, so that if they couldn't change the dominant society, they could avoid it as much as possible. That, in a nutshell, is what the shift from radical feminism to cultural feminism was about. These alternative-building efforts were accompanied with reasons explaining (perhaps justifying) the abandonment of working for social change. Notion that women are "inherently kinder and gentler" is one of the foundations of cultural feminism, and remains a major part of it. A similar concept held by some cultural feminists is that while various sex differences might not be biologically determined, they are still so thoroughly ingrained as to be intractable.

Eco-Feminism

This branch of feminism is much more spiritual than political or theoretical in nature. It may or may not be wrapped up with goddess worship and vegetarianism. Its basic tenet is that a patriarchal society will exploit its resources without regard to long term consequences as a direct result of the attitudes fostered in a patriarchal/hierarchical society. Parallels are often drawn between society's treatment of the environment, animals or resources and its treatment of women. In resisting patriarchal culture, eco-feminists feel that they are also resisting plundering and destroying of the Earth and vice - versa. [1]

DISCUSSION ON THEORIES

LIBERAL FEMINISM

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." **(US Constitution)**

Liberal feminism is a particular approach to achieving equality between men and women that emphasizes the power of an individual person to alter discriminatory practices against women. For example, pretend it's 1913, and you're walking from New York City to Washington, DC, a hike over 200 miles, because you believe in women's suffrage, or a woman's right to vote.

> **Liberal Feminism**
>
> - Liberal (or "Bourgeois") Feminism, in which the claim of women for equal rights is seen in the context of a general opposition to various form of oppression and discrimination, independently of other political convictions. Liberal feminism tends to emphasise social policy to open up professional, better-paid and prestigious jobs to women and the elimination of laws discriminating against the political, property and social rights of women (encyclopedia of Marxism)

Over 100 years ago, participants in the Women's Suffrage Parade of 1913 took a liberal feminist approach by using their democratic right to protest to promote women's rights. And it worked! In 1920, the U.S. Congress ratified the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, which gave women the right to vote.

1 Retrieved from https://www.thoughtco.com/socialist-feminism-vs-other-feminism-3528987

Primary Goal

Liberal feminism's primary goal is gender equality in the public sphere -- equal access to education, equal pay, ending job-sex segregation, better working conditions -- won primarily through legal changes. Private sphere issues are of concern mainly as they influence or impede equality in the public sphere. Gaining access to and being paid and promoted equally in traditionally male-dominated occupations is an important goal. What do women want? Liberal feminism answers: mostly, what men want -- to get an education, to make a decent living, to provide for one's family.

Liberal feminism is a theory and work that focuses more on issues like equality in the workplace, in education, in political rights. Whenever, liberal feminism looks at issues in the private sphere, it tends to be in terms of equality: how does that private life impede or enhance public equality. Thus, liberal feminists also tend to support marriage as an equal partnership, and more male involvement in child care. *Abortion and other reproductive rights* have to do with control of one's life choices and autonomy.

Ending domestic violence and *sexual harassment* have to do with removing obstacles to women achieving on an equal level with men. Liberal feminism tends to rely on the state and political rights to gain equality -- to see the state as the protector of individual rights. Liberal feminism, for example, supports affirmative action legislation requiring employers and educational institutions to make special attempts to include women in the pool of applicants, on the assumption that past and current discrimination may simply overlook many qualified women applicants.

Liberal feminism conceives of freedom as personal autonomy, living a life of one's own choosing and political autonomy, being co-author of the conditions under which one lives. Liberal feminists hold that the exercise of personal autonomy depends on certain enabling conditions that are insufficiently present in women's lives, or that social arrangements often fail to respect women's personal autonomy and other elements of women's flourishing. They hold also that women's needs and interests are insufficiently reflected in the basic conditions under which they live, and that those conditions lack legitimacy because women are inadequately represented in the processes of democratic self-determination. Liberal feminists hold that autonomy deficits like these are due to the "gender system", or the patriarchal nature of inherited traditions and institutions, and that the women's movement should work to identify and remedy them. As the protection and promotion of citizens' autonomy is the appropriate role of the state on the liberal view, liberal feminists hold that the state can and should be the women's movement's ally in promoting women's autonomy. There is disagreement among liberal feminists, however, about the role of personal autonomy in the good life, the appropriate role of the state, and how liberal feminism is to be justified.

Liberal Feminism and Personal Autonomy

Liberal feminists hold that women should enjoy personal autonomy. That is, they hold that women should live lives of their own choosing. Some offer "procedural" accounts of personal autonomy. These accounts suggest that to say women should enjoy personal autonomy means they are entitled to a broad range of autonomy-enabling conditions. On this view, the women's movement should work to identify and promote these conditions. Identifying these enabling conditions requires careful attention to the particular ways in which autonomy deficits are produced in diverse women's lives. Procedural accounts avoid judging directly the substance of

women's choices or the arrangements that ensue. The following list of enabling conditions is representative.

- *Being free of violence and the threat of violence*
- *Being free of the limits set by patriarchal paternalistic and moralistic laws*
- *Having access to options*

CRITICISM

Liberal Criticism

Some argue that liberal feminism run the risk of being insufficiently liberal. Measures intended to promote gender fairness and the autonomy of women could end up unreasonably hindering autonomy. Some claim that the state should be guided by an egalitarian ideal of family life is an example of such a measure. Other measures recommended by liberal feminists that some hold may be illiberal include quotas on party slates or in elected bodies, and bans on violent pornography?

Classical liberals or libertarians are critical of liberal feminism because, asper their view, liberalism cannot support the claim that the right of some against coercive interference may be violated in order to promote the autonomy capacities of others, such as we find in affirmative action programmes, or in the substantial taxation that would be necessary to fund the social programmes liberal feminists endorse.

Multicultural Criticism

Multicultural critics of liberal feminism suggest that liberal feminism's emphasis on autonomy and fairness in personal and associational life runs the risk of elevating one particular comprehensive conception of the good life over the many others found in multicultural societies.

Conservative Criticism

Conservatives hold that reformers can do more harm than good when they undermine the institutions and norms which, while surely offending in many ways, also serve as the foundation for many people's well-being. Such conservatives worry about the radical implications of liberal feminism, its willingness to put women's autonomy ahead of institutions and norms on which many people rely for their well-being. Ann Cudd suggests that the expansion of opportunity and equality promised by liberal feminism "makes us all better off". Conservatives encourage us to consider also the loss that is in liberation.

RADICAL FEMINISM

Radical feminist beliefs are based on the idea that the main cause of women's oppression originates from social roles and institutional structures being constructed from male supremacy and patriarchy. The main difference between radical feminism and other branches is that they didn't concentrate on equalizing the distribution of power. Instead, they focused their efforts on completely eliminating patriarchy by transforming the entire structure of society. More specifically, they wanted to get rid of traditional gender roles.

- Radical feminism is a philosophy emphasizing the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, or, more specifically, social dominance of women by men. Radical feminism views patriarchy as dividing rights, privileges and power primarily

by gender, and as a result oppressing women and privileging men. Radical feminism opposes existing political and social organization in general because it is inherently tied to patriarchy. Thus, radical feminists tend to be sceptical of political action within the current system, and instead tend to focus on cultural change that undermines patriarchy and associated hierarchical structures.

> **"Feminism is the radical notion that women are people."**
>
> Cheris Kramarae, Paula Treichler

- *Radical feminists tend to be more militant in their approach (radical as "getting to the root") than other feminists are. A radical feminist aims to dismantle patriarchy, rather than making adjustments to the system through legal changes. Radical feminists also resisted reducing oppression to an economic or class issue, as socialist or Marxist feminism sometimes did. Radical feminism was rooted in the wider radical movement, where women participated in anti-war and New Left political movements of the 1960s, finding themselves excluded from equal power by the men within the movement, even with underlying theories of empowerment. Many of these women split off into specifically feminist groups, while still retaining much of their political radical ideals and methods. Then radical feminism became the term used for the more radical edge of feminism.*
- *Radical feminism opposes patriarchy, not men. To equate radical feminism to man-hating is to assume that patriarchy and men are inseparable, philosophically and politically. (Robin Morgan defended "man-hating" as the right of the oppressed class to hate the class which is oppressing them.) Radical feminism is credited with the use of consciousness-raising groups to raise awareness on women's oppression.*
- *Radical feminism considers the male-controlled capitalist hierarchy, which it describes as sexist, as the defining feature of women's oppression. Radical feminists believe that women can free themselves only when they have done away with what they consider an inherently oppressive and dominating patriarchal system. Radical feminists feel that there is a male-based authority and power structure and that it is responsible for oppression and inequality, and that as long as the system and its values are in place, society will not be able to be reformed in any significant way. Some radical feminists see no alternatives other than the total uprooting and reconstruction of society in order to achieve their goals.*

Sub-types of Radical Feminism

Over time a number of sub-types of Radical feminism have emerged, such as Cultural feminism, Separatist feminism and Anti-pornography feminism. Cultural feminism is the ideology of a "female nature" or "female essence" that attempts to revalidate what they consider undervalued female attributes. It emphasizes the difference between women and men but considers that difference to be psychological, and to be culturally constructed rather than biologically innate. Its critics assert that because it is based on an essentialist view of the differences between women and men and advocates independence and institution building, it

has led feminists to retreat from politics to "life-style". Once such critic, Alice Echols, a feminist historian and cultural theorist, credits Redstockings member Brooke Williams with introducing the term cultural feminism in 1975 to describe the depoliticization of radical feminism.

Separatist feminism is a form of radical feminism that does not support heterosexual relationships. Its proponents argue that the sexual disparities between men and women are unresolvable. Separatist feminists generally do not feel that men can make positive contributions to the feminist movement and that even well-intentioned men replicate patriarchal dynamics. Author Marilyn Frye describes separatist feminism as "separation of various sorts or modes from men and from institutions, relationships, roles and activities that are male-defined, male-dominated, and operating for the benefit of males and the maintenance of male privilege – this separation being initiated or maintained, at will, by women".[2]

Criticism

1. Radical feminist academic scholarship is often highly partisan (more so than other groups) and even invents statistics e.g. radical feminist "scholars" on witchcraft have in the past claimed that 9 million women were killed in the European witch trials which is outright fraudulent.
2. Radical feminists seek to promote division between people's superficial differences.
3. Radical feminist makes wider feminism appear ludicrous to outsiders. The outright vile things that radical feminism often condones, make all of feminism appear inane to many who do not differentiate between liberals and radicals. Luckily, many liberal feminists such as Betty Friedan have realized this and criticized radical feminism.
4. Radical feminism often resorts to violence and proclaims hate speech (while simultaneously trying to outlaw criticism of themselves). This hate speech can be seen, and it would not be going too far to deem the radical feminist equivalent. Fortunately, most people realized that radical feminism is divisive and prejudiced, calling everyone to unite against the hate movement that is radical feminism.
5. Radical feminists' methods for resolving tensions are impractical and inhumane, e.g. Gender segregation would not only be farcical in practicality but would contradict most, if not all, human rights legislation.
6. Women's roles aren't the same in all families, some are becoming more symmetrical.
7. Some women choose to fulfil what feminists see as an emasculating role in the family; feminists don't account for this.

MARXIST AND SOCIALIST FEMINISM

Marxist feminism, where socialist feminism has its roots, points out that class relations and capitalist exploitation of women through their roles in the household are the cause of women's oppression. Capitalists profit from the free provision of labour by women in their family roles. Women need to provide free care for the young, the old, the sick, and even the (male) able-bodied worker. In addition to capitalists, individual men benefit from women's free labour and economic dependence under capitalism. They are able to exercise complete economic control over their

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[2] Retrieved from: http://www.radfemcollective.org/what-is-radical-feminism/

property, thus ensuring that it would not be wasted and would remain theirs and theirs alone. Therefore, Marxist feminists believe that once capitalism is dismantled and class society is disintegrated, gender inequality will vanish as well.

Attempts to deal with the "unhappy marriage" between Marxism and feminism led to the birth of socialist feminism that aimed to develop a political theory and practice that would synthesize the insights of radical feminism (the role of gender and the patriarchy) and Marxism feminism (the role of capitalism in the oppression of women). Socialist feminism argues that class and gender as well as race/ethnic relations of power are all important in the understanding of society. No single social relation is regarded as more critical that the other. The struggle then should be equally against capitalism as it is against patriarchy in the home as well as against oppression in the workplace and society.[3]

CRITICISM

This perspective has been criticized as being functionalist, particularly for ignoring the reality of women's position in the household. Studies conducted in socialist countries in the 1970s and 1980s showed that women remained subordinated at work and at home. This is a situation that Marxist feminism cannot explain, as it is gender-biased, if not blind.

PSYCHOANALYTIC FEMINISM

Psychoanalytic feminism is a theory of oppression, which asserts that men have an inherent psychological need to subjugate women. The root of men's compulsion to dominate women and women's minimal resistance to subjugation lies deep within the human psyche.

This branch of feminism seeks to gain insight into how our psychic lives develop in order to better understand and change women's oppression. The pattern of oppression is also integrated into society, thus creating and sustaining patriarchy. Through the application of psychoanalytic techniques to studying differences between women and men, as well as the ways in which gender is constructed, it is possible to reorganize socialization patterns at the early stages of human life. Societal change, or a "cure," can be developed through discovering the source of domination in men's psyche and subordination in women's, which largely resides unrecognized in individuals' unconscious. This type of feminism emerged out of cultural feminism, which investigates the differences between women and men to understand women's positions in society. Psychoanalytic feminists concentrate on early childhood development, primarily before the age of 3, examining how gender is constructed and practiced on societal, familial, and individual levels.

Psychoanalysis is in essence a cure through love
(Sigmund Freud)

The Roots of Psychoanalytic Feminism: Sigmund Freud

Contrary to popular belief in his time that children are "sexless" (sexuality-less), Freud argued that children were quite sexual and, in fact, experienced three sexual stages of infancy: oral,

[3] Retrieved from: http://sc6214.wikifoundry.com/page/1.3+Marxist+and+Socialist+Feminism

anal, and phallic. During the last of these stages, the "child discovers the pleasure potential of the genitals and either resolves or fails to resolve the so-called Oedipus and castration complexes."

Freudian theory proposes that a male child wants his mother sexually, yet noticing that she and other creatures alike have no penis, he assumes they have been castrated by his father, and for fear of being castrated himself, chooses not to compete with his father and act upon his desire, but rather detaches himself from his mother. He instead begins to develop a "superego…the son's internalization of his father's values, it is a patriarchal, social conscience."

The female child's first love object is also her mother. The child soon notices that she lacks a penis, as does her mother, and she becomes envious of the penis. "Disgusted by the sight of her mother, the girl turns to her father to make good her lack. The girl tries to take her mother's place with her father. At first the girl desires to have her father's penis, but gradually she begins to desire something even more precious; a baby, which for her is the ultimate penis substitute."

Penis envy, according to Freud, leads woman to shame, vanity, narcissism and more such immoralities that are in direct contradiction of the male "superego, which gives rise to the traits marking a civilized person." Thus a woman's lack of penis is causal of her inferiority as a sex in a society driven by men's fear of castration which motivates a tendency to civilize and "become obedient rule-followers whose 'heads' always control their 'hearts.'"[4]

Major points of psychoanalytical feminism

1. Psychoanalytic feminists explain women's oppression as rooted within psychic structures and reinforced by the continual repetition or reiteration of relational dynamics formed in infancy and childhood. Because of these deeply-engrained patterns, psychoanalytic feminists wanted to alter the experiences of early childhood and family relations, as well as linguistic patterns that produce and reinforce masculinity and femininity. Critical of Freudian and neo-Freudian notions of women as biologically, psychically and morally inferior to men, psychoanalytic feminists addressed political and social factors affecting the development of male and female subjects. Like radical feminists, they saw as key issues sexual difference and women's "otherness" in relation to men.
2. The two major schools of psychoanalytic feminism are Freudian and Lacanian. Freudian feminists, mostly Anglo-American, are more concerned with the production of male dominance and the development of gendered subjects in societies where women are responsible for mothering, whereas Lacanian feminists, mostly French, analyze links between gendered identity and language.
3. Early "feminist" appropriations of Freud in the work of Alfred Adler, Karen Horney and Clara Thompson emphasized the uniqueness of each human being over rigidly-gendered developmental tracks and explained women's psychic pathologies as generated and sustained by their inferior social status within patriarchy, rather than biologically determined lack. These theorists reinterpreted some women's neuroses as creative attempts to address ongoing social subordination.
4. Later feminist appropriations of Freud critique the "traditional" family structure in which primarily women mother and assume other care-taking responsibilities. In The Reproduction of Mothering, Nancy Chodorow, for instance, argued that differential

[4] Taken from: Introduction to Psychoanalysis Book by Sigmund Freud

experiences in infancy orient girls and boys toward different developmental paths, with boys definitively separating from their mothers to identify with the father's social power and girls developing a more symbiotic, continuous sense of self in relation to the mother. These relational dynamics that emphasize autonomy and separation for boys render them emotionally stunted and less capable of intimate personal relationships, but better prepared for public life and the world of work. Girls, who in contrast develop as subjects in closer relation with their mother, have more fluid psychic boundaries that facilitate a greater capacity for intimacy but leave them less prepared to negotiate the public sphere. Chodorow and other object relations theorists advocated dual parenting as one way to eliminate the characterological imbalances generated by gendered extremes, as children would be able to view both parents as individuals-in-relation, experience men and women as both self- and other-oriented, and view both sexes as inhabiting private and public domains.

5. Putting into practice Chodorow's theoretical restructuring of the family would, of course, require considering some substantial changes in current policies and practices: reasonable parental leave, adequate compensation for part-time work, quality childcare staffed with both male and female caretakers, and early/elementary education with both male and female teachers.

6. Psychoanalytic feminists privileged the analysis of self-construction through discourse over the biological and psychosocial implications of parenting, arguing that, in order to alter gender relations, we need to change language. In Lacanian psychoanalysis, the phallus is symbolic of the child's entry into language and culture under "The Law of the Father," and Lacanian feminists wanted to interrogate and resist oppressive constructions of gender and sexuality encoded in language.

7. One group of French Lacanian feminists – including Luce Irigarary, Helene Cixous and Catherine Clement – is known for their project of "ecriture feminine," an attempt to write from or to discursively embody the position of woman in order to challenge women's positioning in phallogocentric culture. These writers argued that women needed to forego neutral, scientific masculine language and embrace a rebellious creativity based in subjective experience of the body and the feminine. In this, they attempted to realize a female/feminine sex/subject outside of patriarchal definitions of woman. For Irigaray and Cixous, this involved celebrating women's diffuse and autoerotic sensuality, in contrast to the linear, focused dynamic of "phallic" sex, as well as critiquing the symbolic order through parody.[5]

Criticism

There was resistance on the side of feminism to Freud's writings surrounding this topic, particularly during the 1970's when psychoanalysis became a dominant framework and manner of theorizing. When reading Freud, certain terms like penis-envy and the affiliation of femininity with passivity and masculinity with activity, were highly problematic for feminist theorists.[6]

[5] https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-psychoanalysis/

[6] Madison, CT, US: International Universities Press, Inc Validation in the clinical theory of psychoanalysis: A study in the philosophy of psychoanalysis.(1993). xxii 417 pp.

MEN'S FEMINISM

"Men cannot call themselves feminists. They can write things that are feminist, say things that are feminist, do things that are feminist, but for all intents and purposes, men can only be feminist allies – and even then I'm a bit iffy about men who self-designate themselves as such."

Introduction and Background of the Theory

Since the 19th century, men have taken part in significant cultural and political responses to feminism within each "wave" of the movement. This includes seeking to establish equal opportunities for women in a range of social relations, generally done through a "strategic leveraging" of *male privilege*. Feminist men have also argued alongside scholars like *Bell Hooks*, however, that men's liberation from the socio-cultural constraints of sexism and gender roles is a necessary part of feminist activism and scholarship.

The men's liberation movement began in the early 1970s as consciousness-raising group to help men free themselves from the limits of sex roles. Proponents of men's liberation argued that male bonding is a mechanism to conform men's identities to a single sense of masculinity, which reinforces patriarchy. In lieu of such bonding, the men's liberation movement called for open acknowledgment of the costs of masculinity: men's entrapment in their fixed role as the breadwinner of the nuclear family and the taboo against men expressing emotions. Most significantly, this movement made it acceptable for men to be open about their emotions while maintaining their masculinity.

The link between the biological male sex and the social construction of masculinity was seen by some scholars as a limitation on men's collabouration with the feminist movement. This sharply contrasted with sex role theory which viewed gender as something determined by biological differences between the sexes. Other key elements of the men's liberation movement were the ideas that genders are relational and each cannot exist without the other, and that gender as a whole is a *social construction* and not a biological imperative. Thus, second-wave pro-feminist writers were able to explore the interactions between social practices and Institutions, and ideas of gender.

The men's rights movement is considered by some feminists a part of an antifeminist response. In the early 1980s, the *Men's rights* campaign emerged in America in response to the men's liberation movement. Men's rights activists refer to themselves as "masculinists" or are labelled as such.

There is debate within feminism over whether or not men can be feminists. A few important views about men's feminism are as under

1. Simone de Beauvoir in her seminal text *The Second Sex*, argued that men cannot be feminists because of the intrinsic differences between the sexes.
2. *Separatist feminists* also hold this view, arguing that only by rejecting the masculine perspective entirely can feminism allow women to define themselves on their own terms, and that the involvement of men in the feminist movement will inculcate the values of *patriarchy* into any social change.

3. Some writers hold that men do not suffer the same oppression as women, and as such cannot comprehend women's experience, and as such cannot constructively contribute to feminist movements or concepts.
4. Others argue that men's identification with the feminist movement is necessary for furthering the feminist causes. A number of feminist writers maintain that identifying as a feminist is the strongest stand men can take in the struggle against sexism against women. They have argued that men should be allowed, or even encouraged, to participate in the feminist movement.
5. For some, the participation of men in the feminist movement is seen as part of a process of the universalization of the feminist movement, necessary for its continued relevance.
6. Other female feminists argue that men cannot be feminists simply because they are not women, cannot understand women's issues, and are collectively members of the class of oppressors against women. They claim that men are granted inherent privileges that prevent them from identifying with feminist struggles and thus make it impossible for them to identify with feminists.
7. One idea supporting men's inclusion as 'feminists' is that excluding men from the feminist movement labels it as solely a female task, which could be argued to be sexist in itself. This idea asserts that until men share equal responsibility for struggling to end sexism against women, the feminist movement will reflect the very sexist contradiction it wishes to eradicate. The term 'pro-feminist' occupies the middle ground in this semantic debate, because it offers a degree of closeness to feminism without using the term itself. Also, the prefix 'pro' characterizes the term as more proactive and positive.

Roles of Men with Feminism and Feminist Theory

1. Can Men do Feminist Theory?

There are perhaps as many definitions of feminism and feminist theory as there are people who declare that they are feminists. Ben Agger (1998) states that the major achievement of feminist theory is to make the politics of sex and gender central to understanding the oppression. However, feminist theory is not only about understanding but also about action. A goal of the feminist project is to end the oppression of women and attain social equality for them.

The politics of patriarchy have suppressed women's voices and dominated social discourse and social action to the benefit of men and detriment of women. Thus it may be problematic for some readers that I the Ben Agger, as a white male in this patriarchal society, am struggling to define the male role in feminism, which was born out of the women's movement and revisits the unanswered question, can men do feminist theory?

This question can only be answered in differing ways for the meanings of text and answers to social questions are contested symbolic mediations imbedded in social relations of power. Perhaps a more important question than whether or not men can "do" feminist theory is whether men can engage feminism, and can they be feminists?

2. Can Men be Feminists?

It is crucial for men to be a part of feminist agency. If feminism is to attain its goal of liberating women, men must be a part of the struggle. Indeed, men probably bear more of the

responsibility for ending oppression of women since patriarchal men have been the main perpetrators of that very oppression. But can men do this by becoming feminists? Although we believe that men can be pro-feminist and anti-sexist, we do not believe that we can be feminists in the strictest sense of the word in today's society. Men, in this patriarchal system, cannot remove themselves from their power and privilege in relation to women. To be a feminist. one must be a member of the targeted group (i.e. a woman) not only as a matter of classification but as having one's directly-lived experience inform one's theory and praxis.

Sexism

A clear analogy can be made between male pro-feminism and anti-racism. Men cannot really be feminists anymore than whites can be black nationalists. However, men can b pro-feminist and whites can be pro-black nationalists. At the same time, it is not enough to simply be a member of the disenfranchised minority to be either a feminist or a black nationalist. Feminism, like Black Nationalism requires political consciousness and even activism.

Sexism restricts roles for men as well as women. But while sexism impacts women more negatively than men it also affects individual women to differing degrees. Some women internalize sexist beliefs and subservient behaviours to a greater extent than others and do not/cannot embrace feminism.

Sexism negatively impacts men by forcing them into a hyper-masculinity which engages high-risk behaviour and limits their emotional expression as full human beings. However, regardless of these and other secondary effects of sexism, men still benefit from patriarchy (the social system of sexism) whether or not they choose to fight sexism in others or themselves. Women, and feminists in particular, face the damaging primary effects of sexism and the wrath of patriarchal society whenever they resist their subjugated social role and often even when they don't. So if men cannot be feminists how can we be a part of a feminist agency? Does feminism address only women or doesn't it also address men in some way?

3. What should be the Role of Men in the Feminist Movement?

Feminist discourse might even have more pertinent impact on men than on women. Many women know they are oppressed by patriarchy. They have the life experiences of belonging to an oppressed group and have most likely shared personal stories that reveal their wounds from patriarchy. Men, on the other hand, are less likely to recognize their gender privilege and probably have not shared stories of wounding women through their own oppressive behaviours nor have they grieved with other men over the harm they have caused to women. Vulnerable, acquiescent behaviour is not commonly accepted as manly in today's society. Nevertheless, I believe that real feminism is not just about hearing personal stories but also about changing the structure of gender relations and acting to eliminate all forms of patriarchy.

Unfortunately, some segments of the men's movement, such as men's rights groups and followers of Robert Bly's mythopoetic movement, seem less focused on dismantling patriarchy and more focused on, in Bell Hook's (1992) words, "the production of a kind of masculinity that can be safely expressed within patriarchal boundaries. She further explains that the most frightening aspect of the contemporary men's movement, particularly as it is expressed in popular culture, is the de-politicization of the struggle to end sexism and sexist oppression and the replacing of that struggle with a focus on personal self-actualization. She suggests that the men's movement should not be separate from the women's movement but instead become a segment under the larger feminist movement. In this way, men would not be taking centre stage in yet another part of women's lives allowing a slightly more subtle form of domination to continue.

Paul Smith, who co-authored the book Men in Feminism challenges men to think of feminism working on them. But this cannot be done without changing, not only how men relate to other men, but how we relate to women as well. Perhaps men need to be "meninists," supporting women in their feminist work while allowing feminism to work on them, challenging themselves and other men to end patriarchy. In this way, feminist theory and practice could be a catalyst for liberating both men and women from their restrictive gender roles and the system of patriarchy.[7]

> *"We don't often talk about men being imprisoned by gender stereotypes, but I can see that they are, and that when they are free, things will change for women as a natural consequence. If men don't have to be aggressive in order to be accepted, women won't feel compelled to be submissive. If men didn't control, women wouldn't need to be controlled."*
>
> *-Speech by UN-Women Goodwill Ambassador (Emma Watson)*

POSTMODERN FEMINISM

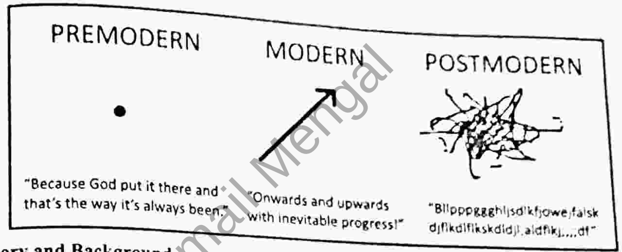
Why is truth devalued in our culture today? What is Postmodernism? We live in a different world than we did just 20 years ago. People think differently today about the reality and nature of truth. Your truth is your truth, my truth is my truth -- they are both right is a common belief that we encounter in our postmodern culture. Why are people thinking in such a manner? But important thing is the understanding of postmodernism and feminism.

> ***Everything we hear is an opinion, not a fact. Everything we see is a perspective, not the truth.***

Postmodern feminism is an approach to feminist theory that incorporates postmodern and post-structuralist theory, seeing itself as moving beyond the modernist polarities of liberal feminism and radical feminism. Postmodern feminism is a particular kind of postmodernism and a particular kind of feminist theory that has become prominent in feminist thinking over the last couple of decades. In order to understand it, first we must examine postmodernist epistemology in general, and then compare postmodern feminism to other feminist perspectives. While there are many critics of postmodernism, it provides a very useful theoretical perspective.

Postmodern feminists have built on the ideas of Foucault, de Beauvoir, as well as Derrida and Lacan. While there is much variation in postmodern feminism, there is some common ground. Postmodern feminists accept the male-female binary as a main categorizing force in our society. Following Simone de Beauvoir, they see female as having being cast into the role of the other. They criticize the structure of society and the dominant order, especially in its patriarchal aspects. Many postmodern feminists, however, reject the feminist label, because anything that ends with an "ism" reflects an essentialist conception. Postmodern feminism is the ultimate acceptor of diversity. Multiple truths, multiple roles, multiple realities are part of its focus. Post-structural feminism offers a useful philosophy for diversity in feminism because of its acceptance of multiple truths and rejection of essentialism."

[7] Retrieved from: http://xyonline.net/sites/default/files/Kaufman,%20Men,%20feminism.pdf



History and Background

What is known as postmodern feminism is often associated with the work of Judith Butler (1990, 1993) and is marked, in part, by a "linguistic turn," a view of gender as a discursive construction and performance rather than a biological fact. These theorists criticize the conflation of sex and gender, essentialist generalizations about men and women, and the tendency to view gender as fixed, binary and determined at birth, rather than a fluid, mobile construct that allows for multiple gender expressions. The gender dichotomy of man-woman so pervasive in Western culture can be understood in terms of the cultural imperative to be heterosexual and a history of biological determinism in Western philosophy.

Postmodern feminism rejects a dualistic view of gender, heteronormativity, and biological determinism, pointing to the inseparability of the body from language and social norms. Medical professionals can, for example, conform to and reinforce social norms by surgically transforming an infant with ambiguous genitalia into a culturally intelligible girl proper whose clitoris is a socially acceptable size. Medical technological intervention is also responsible for sexual reassignment surgery, making the materiality of gender malleable and blurring the boundaries between "man" and "woman." Postmodern feminists argue against the assumption that all women share a common oppression; this assumption has, unwittingly totalized and naturalized the category of "woman" into a white, heterosexual, middle-class, able-bodied, young- to middle-aged norm. Moreover, avowing political categories such as "woman" or "queer" as part of one's identity, what is called "identity politics" is both intellectually and politically misguided.

Scholars Ideology

Identitarian terms, such as "transgender," according to the postmodern school of thought, emerge into discourse at certain points in history, and it is important to keep this point in the foreground. Ignoring a term's history can end up reifying the term and reinforcing its place in a discursive hierarchy. From this body of work, the theorist whose work has been particularly influential to scholars of gender and IT is Donna Haraway. Haraway (1985) argues that in a culture of high technology, the boundaries are no longer clear between human and animal, animal and machine, or human and machine. While not a new observation, Haraway recasts it as a windfall for feminist theory; hierarchical dualisms such as man/woman, heterosexual/homosexual, and white/black are no longer stable in high-tech culture.

High technology is embedded so deeply in politics and knowledge (examples include artificial intelligence, genetic modification of organisms, and reproductive technologies) that the

technologies are no longer tools deployed by agents in positions of power but now, to a great extent, they construct those agents. New technologies prompt redefinition of such concepts as literacy, work, nature, reproduction, and culture. Haraway argues that taking the cyborg, a figure without boundaries that is both human and machine, as a metaphor for socialist feminist theoretical interventions can be useful for feminist theory because it can help feminist theorists imagine a world that is not seen in or confined to hierarchical dualisms. The cyborg resists and eludes final definitions, as should feminist theory to avoid totalizing the category of "woman."

Postmodern feminism seeks to right a lot of the wrongs that old feminism set up. A lot of people think of feminism as a very liberal bad idea that seeks to elevate women above men, but the truth of postmodern feminism is that it is simply striving for equality.The advent of intersectionality is an addition to the old tenants of feminism, which focused solely on white women of a certain class. This newer way of thinking includes any women in need, whether or not she was born biologically a woman and regardless of race or class.

Postmodern feminism on survival and Health

Postmodern feminism also focuses on survival and health as opposed to bonding through shared victimhood. It encourages women to work through problems in a progressive way and unite instead of separating and bonding only through their pains and faults. Compared to older feminism, it is a much healthier movement for women.This is in contrast to some other feminist theoretical viewpoints. Feminist empiricism, or liberal feminism, sees equal opportunity as the primary focus. They are concerned with "levelling the playing field." It does not question the nature of the knowledge or the structure of human interactions, but rather the events that go on within that structure. Accepting the idea that there is a single knowable truth has led liberal feminists to use the accepted methodologies in research, believing that they just need to be used in different ways.

Radical feminism has focused on how deeply entrenched the male-female division is in society. Women have been oppressed and discriminated against in all areas and their oppression is primary. Their focus has been to detail how the male dominated society has forced women into oppressive gender roles, and has used women's sexuality for male profit. Radical feminist proposals for change include creating woman-only communities to embracing androgyny. Criticism of radical feminism include that it suggests that men and women are two separate species with no commonality and that it romanticizes women and interactions between women.

The Feminist Alliance with Postmodernism

A decade ago a question haunted feminist theorists who had participated in the experiences of the New Left and who had come to feminism after an initial engagement with varieties of twentieth-century, Marxist theory: whether Marxism and feminism were reconcilable, or whether their alliance could end only in an "unhappy marriage"? Today with Marxist theory worldwide on the retreat, feminists are no longer preoccupied with saving their unhappy union. Instead it is a new alliance, or misalliance depending on one's perspective, that has proved more seductive. Feminism and postmodernism are thus often mentioned as if their current union was a foregone conclusion. Yet certain characterizations of postmodernism should make us rather ask "feminism or postmodernism?" At issue, of course, are not merely terminological quibbles. Both feminism and postmodernism are not merely descriptive categories: they. are constitutive and evaluative terms, informing and helping define the very practices which they attempt to describe. As

categories of the present, they project modes of thinking about the future and evaluating the past. Let us begin then by considering one of the recent, more comprehensive characterizations of the "postmodern moment" provided by a feminist theorists.

In a recent book, *Thinking Fragments: Psychoanalysis, Feminism and Postmodernism in the Contemporary West*, Jane Flax characterizes the postmodern position as subscription to the theses of the death of Man, of History and of Metaphysics.

1. The Death of Man. "Postmodernists wish to destroy," she writes," all essentialist conceptions of human being or nature .... In fact, man is a social, historical, or linguistic artefact, not a nominal or transcendental being .... Man is forever caught in the web of fictive meaning, in chains of signification, in which the subject is merely another position in language."

2. The Death of History. "The idea that history exists for or is his being is more than just another precondition and justification for the fiction of man. This idea also supports and underlies the concept of progress, which is itself such an important part of man's story.... Such an idea of man and history privileges and presupposes the value of units, homogeneity, totality, closure, and identity."

3. The Death of Metaphysics. According to postmodernists, "Western metaphysics has been under the spell of the 'metaphysics of presence' at least since Plato .... For postmodernists this quest for the Real conceals most Western philosophers' desire, which is to master the world once and for all by enclosing it within an illusory, but absolute system they believe represents or corresponds to a unitary being beyond history, particularity and change .... just as the Real is the ground of Truth, so too philosophy, as the privileged representative of the Real and interrogator of truth claims must play a 'foundational' role in all 'positive knowledge'."

4. The feminist counterpoint to the postmodernist theme of "the Death of Man" can be named the "Demystification of the Male Subject of Reason." Whereas postmodernists situate "Man," or the sovereign subject of the theoretical and practical reason of the tradition, in contingent, historically changing and culturally variable social, linguistic, and discursive practices, feminists claim that "gender," and the various practices contributing to its constitution, is one of the most crucial contexts in which to situate the purportedly neutral and universal subject of reason.

5. The feminist counterpoint to the "Death of History" would be the "Engendering of Historical Narrative." If the subject of the western intellectual tradition has usually been the white, propertied, Christian, male head of household, then History as hitherto recorded and narrated has been "his story." Furthermore, the various philosophies of history which have dominated since the Enlightenment have forced historical narrative into unity, homogeneity, and linearity, with the consequence that fragmentation, heterogeneity, and above all the varying pace of different temporalities as experienced by, different groups have been obliterated.

6. The feminist counterpoint to the "Death of Metaphysics" would be "Feminist Scepticism toward the Claims of Transcendent Reason." If the subject of reason is a supra-historical and context-transcendent being, but the theoretical and practical creations and activities of this subject bear in every instance the marks of the context out of which they emerge, then the subject of philosophy is inevitably embroiled with knowledge-governing interests which mark and direct its activities.

Despite this "elective affinity" between feminism and postmodernism, however, each of the three theses enumerated above can be interpreted to permit if not contradictory then at least

radically divergent theoretical strategies. And for feminists, which set of theoretical claims they adopt as their own cannot be a matter of indifference. [8]

Critique of Postmodern Feminism

> Simplifying to the extreme, I define postmodern as incredulity toward metanarratives.
>
> Jean-François Lyotard

A major critique of Postmodern Feminism is its seeming identification of women with the feminine and the biological body. Many view postmodern feminists as valorizing women and the feminine over male and the masculine. Some of us didn't want to wear feminine looking dresses when our mothers tried to make us to go to the patriarchal church and we don't want to wear them in graduate school either.

However, most of the criticism in this vein simplifies postmodern feminism. As we have seen, there are widely varying viewpoints within this theoretical framework. While this diversity is seen as empowering by some feminists, many are concerned with the potential loss of feminist community. With no essential philosophy accepted by all feminists, it is difficult to make political action.

One of the most prevalent criticisms of postmodern feminism, and postmodernism in general is its apparently nonsensical writing. Much of the writing of postmodernists reject linear construction in their writing. And so accusations of eliticism have been levelled at the postmodern feminism as a whole. Critics contend that only few academics can participate because the jargon is so thick, and that "true" feminists address issues of political import. Considering that postmodernist reject essentialist, there is an obvious lack of conceptual understanding of postmodern feminism reflected in these criticisms. Also, because linear, syntaxically normal speech and writing are viewed as part of the propaganda of the dominant order, breaking them down the linguistic power structure is, in their philosophies, an important part of undermining that power. So, in fact, being obtuse and chaotic is their way of introducing change and therefore offering new meanings.

Postmodern feminism has resulted in some of the most ground-breaking research in the last twenty years. Its major technique i.e. discourse analysis, has been used in many different fields to ask many different questions. A logical progression of postmodern theory, it has revitalized feminism by questioning many assumptions that were previously unexamined.

[8] *Gender and knowledge Book by Susan Hekman*

CHAPTER 4

FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

"FEMINIST SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The linguistic root of feminism can he traced back to the nineteenth-century French medical term *feminisme* which was applied to the feminization of the male body or to women with masculine qualities. Attention to the social, political and economic status of women predates this linguistic root, featuring prominently with the 1789 French Revolution, for example. The subsequent development of multiple feminisms makes a unitary definition almost impossible. However, it is reasonable to begin from the proposition that feminist positions start from the recognition of the systematic subordination and inequality experienced by women because of their biology and a commitment to challenge the associated social relations. The basis of subordination, inequality and oppression are subject to multiple interpretations and strategies of redress.

> A feminist is anyone who recognizes the equality and full humanity of women and men.
>
> -Gloria Steirem

Approaching feminism as a movement that has occurred in a number of waves has become widely accepted and is the approach adopted in this chapter. The predominant focus is on the trajectories of feminism as they have unfolded within Europe and North America and we acknowledge the many other feminisms that have been, and are being, formalized on other continents including Africa and India as well many Arab nations. The class stratification of feminism in terms of waves' raises the question of the relationship between feminism per se and earlier work on the position of women. After noting some of the significant precursors the convention of first, second and third wave feminism will be followed. The entry concludes by speculating on possible fourth wave imminent within the contemporary network of networks.

Some precursors

The prevalence of patriarchal social relations and their normative status in Western societies made the inequality, subordination or oppression of women effectively invisible. Mary Wollstonecraft's "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" published in 1792 is one clear precursor of feminism. It is also important to recognize that feminism develops in the context of industrial capitalism within the West. Engels' (1884/1972) study of the historical significance of gender in the consolidation of an economic surplus; *The Origins of the Family, Private Property & the State* represents an important early text within the socialist tradition. Rosa Luxemburg's work on the Woman Question in Socialism is another example. Within the Liberal tradition Mill's consideration of the place of women is another pre-figurative text, Perhaps the most important point here is to remember that each of the waves that are written about stand in relation to each

other in specific national' contexts and each wave can draw on and be influenced by a range of precursors. From this perspective, feminism is a social movement that expresses different forms of social force through time and across space. Feminism is a form of movement that is necessarily reconfigured over time as the place of women in societies is subject to changes in terms of the form and types of contradictions confronted and the range of resources available through which to mount critique and social challenge.

> **"Feminism is the single most important social movement of our time, one that addresses every aspect of human and social life."**
>
> \- Richard A. Epstein, author

FIRST WAVE FEMINISM

(Women's fight for equal contract and property rights)

In the USA and the United Kingdom, first wave feminism is widely regarded as occurring between roughly 1850 and 1920. This was a key period in which industrial capitalism was consolidated creating a diverse range of social change. Within first wave feminism, there were three areas of engagement which enjoyed differing levels of support. Suffrage, Rights-based equality and reproductive rights were all present during this period of mobilization. The period is one where class differences between feminists represented a significant divide. In the United Kingdom the Suffragists are the best-known example of first wave feminism but there were also forms of evangelical feminism and a minoritarian social feminism which questioned the dominant family form and stood for the collectivization of childcare and housework. The ability to control fertility represented another minoritarian approach within first wave feminism in the United Kingdom with *Mary Stopes* being a prominent pioneer founding the *Mary Stopes Clinic.*

> "When a just cause reaches its flood tide-whatever stands in the way must fall before its overwhelming power."
>
> \- Carrie Catt

The UK suffrage movement of 1897, initially formalized through The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, represented a predominantly middle class reform movement. Differences over tactics led the Pankhurst's to form the Women's Social and Political Union which pursued the use of high profile direct action. These included members chaining themselves to railings in public places and the death of Emily Davison who threw herself in front of one of the King's race horses. In Northern England, working class women in Lancashire advanced their cause through the guilds and were suspicious of the more individualistic actions taking place in London. Irrespective of these differences, it is widely accepted that the focus upon the vote produced at least the appearance of a united movement. The partial extension of the vote to some women in 1918 fractured this apparent unity.

After the First World War, the issue of women and work produced an 'anti-feminist' current which argued that women should give up their place in the labour market which had expanded during the war. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies became the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. The leader of the new organization, Eleanor Rathbone, campaigned for a radical variant of family allowance paid to women at rate that secured their needs independent of male income. This ambition was never realized and marked a shift to the negotiation of rights for women which did not question the prevailing gender order. The more radical equal rights feminists opposed this focus and the passage of protective legislation for women such as maternity leave. Working class feminists supported such legislation, leading to renewed divisions within first wave feminism. The recession of the 1930s was accompanied by an emphasis on the maternal role of women and the importance of social welfare and is widely accepted as the point where first wave feminism reached the limit of its potential.

> Universal Suffrage is the only guarantee against despotism.
>
> (May Wright Sewal)

SECOND WAVE FEMINISM

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, there was a significant wave of collective political action by feminists in the developed nations in the aftermath of the youth and counter-cultural movements. In America and Europe, second wave feminism was in part a response to women's experience of the New Left and counter-culture which had pursued forms of liberation which had not questioned the normative gender order. In America and the United Kingdom, small consciousness–raising groups proliferated throughout urban areas in multiple locations spanning workplaces, education establishments and friendship network.

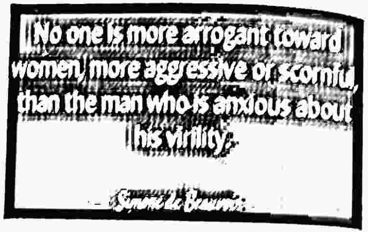
Feminism was also located within the wider questioning of the post Second World War social order based on consumption and the nuclear family as unproblematic social forms. In America and the United Kingdom, feminists argued that increasing female participation rates in the labour marker resulted in a double burden of paid and domestic labour. To this could be added the burden of care for the elderly and the sick, creating a triple burden. As with first wave feminism, second wave feminism erupted in the face of significant changes in the organization of industrial capitalism which had established another normative gender order which made notions of oppression, inequality and subordination effectively invisible. Betty Freindan's book 'The Feminine Mystique, (2001) was amongst those that breached the silence. Second wave feminism had very different mobilizing capacities and resources at its disposal and had a major impact upon the prevailing gender order. These impacts included formal legislative programmes on birth control, abortion, equal pay as well as significant cultural and social normative challenge and change.

> **"ONE IS NOT BORN A WOMAN, ONE BECOMES ONE."**

Analytically, second wave feminism is often divided into liberal, socialist/Marxist and radical forms reflecting differing primary orientations. Liberal feminism is understood as the

pursuit of formal equality between women and men within substantive legislative... Socialist/ Marxist feminism was committed to building an inclusive mass movement based on the incorporation of gender within an analysis of capitalist social relations. The reliance on consciousness raising groups, forms of direct action, street theatre and staged situations such as the disruption of Miss World competitions produced a high public profile. Both liberal and socialist/Marxist feminism prioritized a range of women-specific concerns consistent with what Kate Millet (2000) regarded as 'sexual politics'. These included the family, abortion, sexuality, the sexual division of labour, rape, domestic violence and the relationship between capitalism, patriarchy and war and exploitation.

Radical feminism prioritized patriarchal relationships in its analysis of gender oppression and subordination emphasizing sex and sexuality with significant campaigns against pornography. Violence and subordination were approached as patriarchal attributes linked to heterosexuality. Radical feminism campaigned using forms of direct action including significant reclaim the night marches in the form of torchlight processions though urban areas associated with assaults on women. Other initiatives with which radical feminism was associated included the creation of 'women's refuges' open to the victims of domestic violence. This sort of campaigning is a far more important legacy of radical feminism than the view that it stood for the uncompromising antipathy towards men.

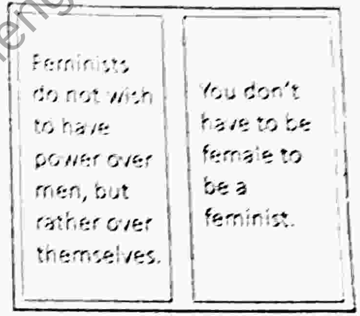


Second wave feminism has had lasting impacts on the societies in which mobilizations occurred but is widely seen as having fallen far short of its potential by protagonists such as **Lynne Segal (1987).** The attempt to forge an inclusive movement for all created immense pressures as women from different social classes and women of colour debated the relative standing of oppression based on gender, race and class. These internal tensions developed alongside the wider crisis of social democracy and socialism confronted by the rise of Neoliberalism, which, in the United Kingdom, was driven forward through a female prime minister. Whilst feminism never became moribund in the 1980s and 1990s nor did it regain the popular impact enjoyed during the second wave.

A notable exception in the United Kingdom during the 1980s was the prominence achieved by **Greenham Women** opposed to the stationing of American theatre nuclear weapons on British soil. This radical feminist initiative drew increasing support from an increasingly diverse range of social locations over time and attracted increasingly derogatory attention from sections of the press and political establishment. The practice of maintaining permanent camps at the Greenham base was an innovative return to direct action. The recognition that the type of systemic change sought by feminism could only be realized by changes in the approaches towards masculinity was one important insight formalized during this period. The inclusion of men and masculinity can be seen as one of the preconditions for the emergence of a third wave of feminism.

THIRD WAVE FEMINISM

The apparent decline of feminism and arguments that feminism became a social movement in abeyance should be treated with some caution. A third wave of feminism influenced by post-structuralism of rejects essentialism and approaches the gender order as universally problematic and beyond is beginning to be defined, the prominence of the daughters of second wave feminists within this 'wave' raises interesting issues of inter-generational transmission and reinterpretation of feminism. This distinguishes the relationship between second and third waves from those between the first and the second. There are at least two discernible positions in terms of this relationship; a conservative post-feminism that is a rejection of second wave feminism and a progressive feminism which seeks to reconfigure the second wave for the contemporary milieu.



Progressive third wave feminism can be seen as a re-engagement with the aim of achieving an open movement by including women of colour diverse class backgrounds. Whilst criticizing and protesting against beauty competitions, such as Miss London University the condemnation of cosmetics and glamour per se is not a feature of this movement. Third wave activism includes cultural interventions and performances with Riot Grrrl being a prominent US example. Drawing on 1970s punk, Riot Grrrl spread beyond the music scene to create a wider movement, holding conventions and gatherings reminiscent of consciousness-raising events of the second wave.

Third wave Feminism Adopts a Global Perspective

Third wave feminism adopts an avowedly global perspective and an engagement with lived experience, extending to the impacts on masculinity of economyic restructuring leading to male unemployment. There is a marked generational profile to third wave feminism which contributes to a diverse presence on the internet. Sites such as the F Word (www.thefword.Org.uk) contain a wide range of material including engagements with and reinterpretations of the second wave. The third wave is still in a nascent and formative sate where the future lines of fight and flight remain immanent (www.3rdwwwave.com and www.womensstudies.homested.com).

There are, however, some indications that the openness associated with the third wave is beginning to produce forms of hybrid direct action. In the United Kingdom, Climaterush exists as a mixed gender group using direct action to highlight the importance of climate change (www.climaterush.co.uk). Their repertoire of action has included the re-enactment of interventions first made by the Suffragettes. Wearing sashes in the colours of the Suffrage movement, a Climaterush group chained themselves to the same statue within the Palace of Westminster, assuming the same poses as the original Suffragettes. This represents an example of the sort of hybridization of social movement repertoires and symbolic resources available in the

contemporary milieu. If third wave feminism pursues this sort of hybrid extension of its engagement with gender, it may become possible to speak of a fourth wave with the potential to deliver the systemic transformations immanent within each wave of feminism.[1]

Results of Feminist Movements

From the late 1960s into the 1980s, there was a vibrant women's movement in the United States. Culturally influential and politically powerful, on its liberal side this movement included national organizations and campaigns for reproductive rights, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), and other reforms. On its radical side, it included women's liberation and consciousness-raising groups, as well as cultural and grassroots projects. The women's movement was also made up of innumerable caucuses and organizing projects in the professions, unions, government bureaucracies, and other institutions. The movement brought about major changes in the lives of many women, and also in everyday life in the United States. It opened to women professions and blue-collar jobs that previously had been reserved for men. It transformed the portrayal of women by the media. It introduced the demand for women's equality into politics, organized religion, sports, and innumerable other arenas and institutions, and as a result the gender balance of participation and leadership began to change. By framing inequality and oppression in family and personal relations as a political question, the women's movement opened up public discussion of issues previously seen as private, and therefore beyond public scrutiny. The women's movement changed the way we talk, and the way we think. As a result, arguably most young women now believe that their options are, or at least should be, as open as men's.

Despite the dramatic accomplishments of the women's movement, and the acceptance of women's equality as a goal in most sectors of US society, gender equality has not yet been achieved. Many more women work outside the home but most continue to be concentrated in low-paying jobs; women earn, on the average, considerably less than men; women are much more likely to be poor than men. Violence against women is still widespread. Responsibility for childcare remains largely the responsibility of women; despite the fact that most women work outside the home, nowhere is it seen as a societal rather than a familial responsibility. In the 1960s and 1970s, feminists protested the imbalance in power between men and women in family and personal relations. But these continue to exist.

> The only way for a woman, as for a man, to find herself as a person, is by creative work of her own.
>
> **Betty Friedan**

Worst of all, there is no longer a mass women's movement. There are many organizations working for women's equality in the public arena and in private institutions; these include specifically women's organizations such as the National Organization for Women, and in environmental, healthcare, social justice and other areas that address women's issues. But, where there were once women's organizations with large participatory memberships, there are now bureaucratic structures run by paid staff. Feminist theory, once provocative and freewheeling, has lost concern with the conditions of women's lives and has become pretentious and tired. This raises two questions: Why there is so little discussion

[1] *Taken from a book (Feminist Social Movements, Social Movements Published by Routledge)*

on the near-disappearance of a movement that not so long ago was strong enough to bring about major changes in the social and cultural landscape? What are the causes of the movement's decline?"

Achievements of Feminist Movements

A comprehensive list of these achievements would be far too long, but here we've compiled a pocket edition, just in case you ever run across someone who honestly believes feminism has made the world an unhappier place.

1. They quietly propelled the civil rights movement.
2. They made Americans get serious about gender discrimination.
3. They brought women out of the household — if they so choose.
4. They called out rape culture.
5. They used online feminism to give the marginalized a voice.
6. They pushed pop culture icons to join the fight.
7. They helped pass Title IX, opening new educational possibilities.
8. They took on campus sexual assault.
9. They put a human face to sexual harassment.
10. They fought legal discrimination in the nation's highest courts.
11. They stormed the Beltway's Boys Club.
12. They broke barriers for little girls with presidential aspirations.
13. They joined in the struggle for marriage equality.
14. They demonstrated why revolutions must include the female perspective.
15. They realized a balanced court is a happier court.
16. They forced Americans to recognize the importance of birth control.
17. They focused attention on domestic workers' rights.
18. They helped create the White House's Council on Women and Girls.
19. They worked to eradicate back-alley abortions.
20. They made the workplace a little more equal — for everyone.
21. They proved that the next big thing in science could be discovered by a woman.
22. They earned women the right to vote.
23. They argued "Women's rights are human rights."

THE FOUR GLOBAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCES (1975 – 1995)

Historical Perspective

Four world conferences on women convened by the United Nations in the past quarter of a century have been instrumental in elevating the cause of gender equality to the very centre of the global agenda. The conferences have united the international community behind a set of common objectives with an effective plan of action for the advancement of women everywhere, in all spheres of public and private life.

The struggle for gender equality was still in its early stages at the inception of the United Nations in 1945. Of the original 51 Member States, only 30 allowed women equal voting rights with men or permitted them to hold public office. Nevertheless, the drafters of the United Nations Charter had the foresight to deliberately refer to the "equal rights of men and women" as they declared the Organization's "faith in fundamental human rights" and the "dignity and worth of the human person". No previous international legal document had so forcefully affirmed the equality of all human beings, or specifically targeted sex as a basis for discrimination. At that moment, it became clear that women's rights would be central to the work that lay ahead.

During the first three decades, the work of the United Nations on behalf of women focused primarily on the codification of women's legal and civil rights, and the gathering of data on the status of women around the world. With time, however, it became increasingly apparent that laws were not enough to ensure the equal rights of women.

The struggle for equality entered a second stage with the convening of four world conferences by the United Nations to develop strategies and plans of action for the advancement of women. The efforts undertaken have gone through several phases and transformations, from regarding women almost exclusively in terms of their development needs, to recognizing their essential contributions to the entire development process, to seeking their empowerment and the promotion of their right to full participation at all levels of human activity.

Mexico City: A Global Dialogue is opened

The Conference urged Governments to formulate national strategies, targets and priorities. It led to the establishment of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), which serve as an institutional framework for research, training and operational activities in the area of women and development. At this Conference, held in Mexico City, women played a highly visible role. Of the 133 delegations from Member States, 113 were headed by women. Women also organized the International Women's Year Tribune, which attracted some 4,000 participants, and a parallel forum of non-governmental organizations that signalled the opening up of the United Nations to non-governmental organizations, which enable women's voices to be heard in the organization's policymaking process.

The first world conference on the status of women was convened in Mexico City to coincide with the 1975 International Women's Year, observed to remind the international community that discrimination against women continued to be a persistent problem in much of the world. The Conference, along with the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) proclaimed by the General Assembly five months later at the urging of the Conference, launched a new era in global efforts to promote the advancement of women by opening a worldwide dialogue on gender equality. A process was set in motion, a process of learning that would involve deliberations negotiations, setting objectives, identifying obstacles and reviewing the progress made.

The Mexico City Conference was called for by the United Nations General Assembly to focus international attention on the need to develop future-oriented goals, effective strategies and plans of action for the advancement of women. To this end, the General Assembly identified three key objectives that would become the basis for the work of the United Nations on behalf of women:

- Full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination;
- The integration and full participation of women in development;

- An increased contribution by women in the strengthening of world peace.

The Conference responded by adopting a World Plan of Action, a document that offered guidelines for governments and the international community to follow for the next ten years in pursuit of the three key objectives set by the General Assembly. The Plan of Action set minimum targets, to be met by 1980, that focused on securing equal access for women to resources such as education, employment opportunities, political participation, health services, housing, nutrition and family planning.

This approach marked a change, which had started to take shape in the early 1970s, in the way that women were perceived. Whereas previously women had been seen as passive recipients of support and assistance, they were now viewed as full and equal partners with men, with equal rights to resources and opportunities. A similar transformation was taking place in the approach to development, with a shift from an earlier belief that development served to advance women, to a new consensus that development was not possible without the full participation of women.

Promoting Woman's Role

The Conference called upon governments to formulate national strategies and identify targets and priorities in their effort to promote the equal participation of women. By the end of the United Nations Decade for Women, 127 Member States had responded by establishing some form of national machinery, institutions dealing with the promotion of policy, research and programmes aimed at women's advancement and participation in development.

Within the United Nations system, in addition to the already existing Branch (now Division) for the Advancement of Women, the Mexico City Conference led to the establishment of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) to provide the institutional framework for research, training and operational activities in the area of women and development.

An important facet of the meeting in Mexico City was that women themselves played an instrumental role in shaping the discussion. Of the 133 Member State delegations gathered there, 113 were headed by women. Women also organized a parallel NGO Forum, the International Women's Year Tribune, which attracted approximately 4,000 participants.

Sharp differences emerged among the women gathered at the Forum, reflecting the political and economic realities of the times. Women from the countries of the Eastern Block, for instance, were most interested in issues of peace, while women from the West emphasized equality and those from the developing world placed priority on development. Nevertheless, the Forum played an important role in bringing together women and men from different cultures and backgrounds to share information and opinions and to set in motion a process that would help unite the women's movement, which by the end of the Decade for Women would become truly international. The Forum was also instrumental in opening up the United Nations to NGOs, who provided access for the voices of women to the Organization's policymaking process.

Copenhagen: The Review Process Begins

There was a general consensus that significant progress had been made as representatives of 145 Member States met in Copenhagen in 1980 for the Second World

Conference on Women to review and appraise the 1975 World Plan of Action. Governments and the international community had made strides toward achieving the targets set out in Mexico City five years earlier.

Ensuring Women's Rights

An important milestone had been the adoption by the General Assembly in December 1979 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, one of the most powerful instruments for women's equality. The Convention, which has been termed "the Bill of Rights for Women", now legally binds 165 states, which have become state parties and obligates them to report within one year of ratification, and subsequently every four years, on the steps they have taken to remove obstacles they face in implementing the Convention. An Optional Protocol to the Convention, enabling women victims of sex discrimination to submit complaints to an international treaty body, was opened for signature on Human Rights Day, 10 December 1999. Upon its entry into force, it will put the Convention on an equal footing with other international human rights instruments having individual complaints procedures.

Despite the progress made, the Copenhagen Conference recognized that signs of disparity were beginning to emerge between rights secured and women's ability to exercise these rights. To address this concern, the Conference pinpointed three areas where specific, highly-focused action was essential if the broad goals of equality, development and peace, identified by the Mexico City Conference, were to be reached. These three areas were: equal access to education, employment opportunities and adequate healthcare services.

The deliberations at the Copenhagen Conference took place in the shadow of political tensions, some of them carried over from the Mexico City Conference. Nevertheless, the Conference came to a close with the adoption of a Program of Action, albeit not by consensus, which cited a variety of factors for the discrepancy between legal rights and women's ability to exercise these rights, including:

- Lack of sufficient involvement of men in improving women's role in society;
- Insufficient political will;
- Lack of recognition of the value of women's contributions to society;
- Lack of attention to the particular needs of women in planning;
- A shortage of women in decision-making positions;
- Insufficient services to support the role of women in national life, such as cooperatives, daycare centres and credit facilities;
- Overall lack of necessary financial resources;
- Lack of awareness among women about the opportunities available to them.

To address these concerns, the Copenhagen Program of Action called for, among other things, stronger national measures to ensure women's ownership and control of property, as well as improvements in women's rights to inheritance, child custody and loss of nationality. Delegates at the Conference also urged an end to stereotyped attitudes towards women.

Nairobi: "The Birth of Global Feminism"

The movement for gender equality had gained true global recognition as the Third World Conference on Women. The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, was convened in Nairobi in 1985. With 15,000 representatives of non-governmental organizations attending the parallel NGO Forum, many referred to the Conference as the "birth of global feminism". The women's movement, divided by world politics and economic realities at the Mexico Conference, had now become an international force unified under the banner of equality, development and peace. Behind this milestone lay a decade of work. A lot of information, knowledge and experience had been gathered through the process of discussion, negotiation and revision.

At the same time, delegates were confronted with shocking reports. Data gathered by the United Nations revealed that improvements in the status of women and efforts to reduce discrimination had benefited only a small minority of women. Improvements in the situation of women in the developing world had been marginal at best. In short, the objectives of the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women had not been met.

This realization demanded that a new approach be adopted. The Nairobi Conference was given the mandate to seek new ways to overcome the obstacles to achieving the Decade's goals: equality, development and peace.

The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies to the Year 2000, the strategy developed and adopted by consensus by the 157 participating governments, was an updated blueprint for the future of women to the end of the century. It broke new ground as it declared all issues to be women's issues. Women's participation in decision-making and the handling of all human affairs was recognized not only as their legitimate right but as a social and political necessity that would have to be incorporated in all institutions of society.

At the heart of the document was a series of measures for achieving equality at the national level. Governments were to set their own priorities, based on their development policies and resource capabilities.

Following three basic categories of measures were identified:

- Constitutional and legal steps;
- Equality in social participation;
- Equality in political participation and decision-making.

In keeping with the view that all issues were women's issues, the measures recommended by the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies covered a wide range of subjects, from employment, health, education and social services, to industry, science, communications and the environment. In addition, guidelines for national measures to promote women's participation in efforts to promote peace, as well as to assist women in special situations of distress, were proposed.

Accordingly, the Nairobi Conference urged governments to delegate responsibilities for women's issues to all institutional offices and programmes. Moreover, following the Conference, the General Assembly asked the United Nations to establish, where they did not already exist, focal points on women's issues in all sectors of the work of the Organization.

The Nairobi Conference had introduced a wider approach to the advancement of women. It was now recognized that women's equality, far from being an isolated issue, encompassed every sphere of human activity. Therefore, women's perspective and active involvement in all issues, not only women's issues, was essential if the goals and objectives of the Decade for Women were to be attained.

Beijing: Legacy of Success

While the efforts of the previous two decades, starting with the Mexico City Conference in 1975, had helped to improve women's conditions and access to resources, they had not been able to change the basic structure of inequality in the relationship between men and women. Decisions that affected all people's lives were still being made mostly by men. Ways had to be sought to empower women so that they could bring their own priorities and values as equal partners with men in decision-making processes at all levels.

Recognition of the need to involve women in decision-making had begun to emerge during the course of the series of global conferences held by the United Nations in the early 1990s on various aspects of development: the environment, human rights, population and social development. All the conferences had stressed the importance of women's full participation in decision-making, and women's perspectives were incorporated into the deliberations and the documents that were adopted.

However, it was with the next in the series of conferences, the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, that a new chapter in the struggle for gender equality can truly be said to have begun.

The fundamental transformation that took place in Beijing was the recognition of the need to shift the focus from women to the concept of gender, recognizing that the entire structure of society, and all relations between men and women within it, had to be re-evaluated. Only by such a fundamental restructuring of society and its institutions could women be fully empowered to take their rightful place as equal partners with men in all aspects of life. This change represented a strong reaffirmation that women's rights were human rights and that gender equality was an issue of universal concern, benefiting all.

The legacy of the Beijing Conference was that it sparked a renewed global commitment to the empowerment of women everywhere and drew unprecedented international attention. The Conference unanimously adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action that was in essence an agenda for women's empowerment and stands as a milestone for the advancement of women in the twenty-first century. The Platform for Action specified twelve critical areas of concern considered to represent the main obstacles to women's advancement and which required concrete action by governments and civil society:

- Women and poverty;
- Education and training of women;
- Women and health;
- Violence against women;
- Women and armed conflict;
- Women and the economy;
- Women in power and decision-making;
- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women;
- Human rights of women;
- Women and the media;
- Women and the environment;
- The girl child.

Beijing Platform for Action

By adopting the Beijing Platform for Action, governments committed themselves to the effective inclusion of a gender dimension throughout all their institutions, policies, planning and decision-making. What this in effect meant was that before decisions were to be made or plans to be implemented, an analysis should always be made of the effects on, and needs of, both women and men. For example, instead of striving to make an existing educational system gradually more accessible to women, gender mainstreaming would call for a reconstruction of the system so that it would suit the needs of women and men equally.

The introduction of gender mainstreaming called for the re-examination of society in its entirety and its basic structure of inequality. The focus was, therefore, no longer limited to women and their status in society but was committed to restructuring institutions and political and economic decision-making in society as a whole.

In endorsing the Platform for Action, the United Nations General Assembly called upon all States, the UN system and other international organizations, as well as NGOs and the private sector to take action to implement its recommendations. Within Member States, national machineries that had been established to promote the status of women were assigned a new function as the central policy-coordinating unit to mainstream a gender perspective throughout all institutions and programmes. Within the United Nations system, the Secretary-General designated a senior official to serve as his Special Adviser on Gender Issues, whose role was to ensure system-wide implementation of the gender perspective in all aspects of the work of the United Nations. The Organization was also assigned a key role in the monitoring of the Platform.

The Beijing Conference was considered a great success, both in terms of its size and its outcome. It was the largest gathering of government and NGO representatives ever held, with 17,000 in attendance, including representatives of 189 governments. The NGO Forum held parallel to the Conference also broke all records, bringing the combined number of participants to over 47,000.

The presence and influence of NGOs, one of the most active forces in the drive for gender equality, had increased dramatically since the Mexico City Conference in 1975. In Beijing, NGOs had directly influenced the content of the Platform for Action and they would play an important role in holding their national leaders accountable for the commitments they had made to implement the Platform.

FEMINIST MOVEMENTS IN PAKISTAN

KEY POINTS

- Feminist and women's rights consciousness in Pakistan has historically been shaped in response to national and global reconfigurations of power including colonialism, nationalism, dictatorship, democracy and the Global War on Terror.
- The relationship between the women's movement and the Pakistani state has undergone significant shifts, from mutual accommodation and a complementary ethos to confrontation and conflict, followed by collaboration, co-optation and, finally, collusion depending upon transformations in the nature of the state at particular moments in history.

- The strategies of the women's movement reflect significant shifts, from a focus on education and welfare to legal reform, and ultimately to women's political and economic rights.
- A historically consistent and sustained tension between the women's movement/feminism and the state, as well as between the movement and 'civil society' consisting of non-state actors, has resulted from specific articulations of religion at different times confronted by the impulse toward a secular ethos.

Colonialism and the Education Reform Movement

The historical origin of the Muslim women's movement within the contradictory colonial context, which created the discourses of modernity while, simultaneously reinforcing tradition where it suited the colonial state to do so. British colonialism in India did not have uniform effects. On the one hand, it brought Indians face to face with alternative ways of conceptualizing the world, different political and economic arrangements, and new visions of reality and knowledge based on science and a secular ethos. While on the other, the British government in India reinforced traditional cultures and religions by maintaining religious law in the personal sphere while secularizing laws in the public one. The British dual policy of ushering in modernity and reinforcing tradition was evident in the realm of law. By 1790, the system of law in India was anglicized but Personal Laws of each of the religions of India were retained and continued to govern relations between men and women. Customary and religious law that subordinated women was left untouched. The British law in fact deprived women of their right to inheritance recognized even in religious law. Nonetheless, the Muslim Personal Law of 1937 recognized the right of Muslim women to inherit property, with the exception of agricultural land due to an understanding reached between the large landowners in the Punjab and the British administration. The public-private divide was thus maintained and strengthened.

Education Reform Movement

The British replaced the traditional educational systems prevalent in India with their own, not with the idea of liberating the local population from the shackles of feudal and traditional arrangements; rather the express purpose was to create a class of loyal Indians schooled in British traditions who would owe their position in society to the colonial intervention. Unsurprisingly, there was resistance against as well as accommodation with the colonial administration in the sense that certain social classes in India eagerly espoused an English education and English political ideas, while others resisted it as an imposition of an alien and antagonistic culture. The Muslims of India were caught between the desire to retain a sense of continuity with the past and tradition, while simultaneously acquiring modern knowledge in order to compete in the re-ordered world of politics, commerce and the economy. The contradictory imperatives of preservation of the old order, while stepping reluctantly into the new one, were reconciled by a strict public-private division in which women would guard the symbolic frontiers of identity by maintaining tradition and culture, and the men would enter the fields of politics and commerce where transactions occurred with the colonial state and competing religious communities. This tendency was clearly visible in the education reform movements of the time. Modernist leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan fervently supported the education of Muslim males of the Ashrafiya (Muslim gentry) while warning against the polluting effects of a secular Western education upon Muslim women. For the latter, a traditional education, steeped in religious and domestic values,

was considered appropriate. Similarly, while Nazeer Ahmad favoured the education of women in secular subjects to make them rational, modern and moral mothers and housewives, he was also opposed to the insertion of Western liberal values in the lives of Muslim women. The need to maintain patriarchal control and domination in the home and family, even as the outside world of commerce and politics was slipping away rapidly, was a measure to ensure continuity with the past while stepping into an uncertain future created by an 'other' or outsider. In the second half of the 19th century and early decades of the 20th, debates on the issue of purdah (veil) raged between modernist and traditional Muslims. For instance, the poet Akbar Allahabadi in particular wrote a large number of poems on the loss of veiling among Muslim women which he saw akin to the loss of masculinity among Muslim men. He viewed the aggressive intervention of the masculine colonial state as an emasculation of the Muslim nation which was unable to protect Muslim women from the gaze of the colonial outsider. One finds similar echoes of nostalgia for bygone Muslim masculinity in the poetry of Allama Iqbal who lamented the loss of Muslim male of the past who could defend his ideological and geographical boundaries.

Muhammadan Educational Conference (MEC)

Nevertheless, one can discern a great deal of ambivalence among the Muslims of India with regard to the modernizing of Muslim women. The woman question was first raised by men in 1886 at the annual meeting of the **Muhammadan Educational Conference (MEC)**. Shaikh Abdullah of Aligarh was the principal advocate of women's right to education but he was opposed by a number of seemingly progressive men. However, in December 1899, a women's teacher training school was opened in Calcutta, especially because one argument used against Muslim women's education was that there were few women teachers. The Begum of Bhopal took a keen interest in women's education and supported the **Mohammadan Girls School of Aligarh** started by **Sheikh Abdullah.** The management of the girls' school was looking for an acceptable curriculum, but was hampered by a lack of funds. The Begum of Bhopal donated generously to develop a curriculum for women's education. She developed an outline of the curriculum and presented it in her Presidential address at the women education session of the annual Muslim Educational Conference on 5th December 1911. She proposed the idea of Home Science in the curricula of women education to make it more palatable for conservative Muslims. In her visit to Aligarh in 1915, she inaugurated the Girls School building and laid the foundation stone for a girls' hostel.

Women's Entry in Education

Traditionally, Muslim education was imparted in maktabs and madrassahs from which women were excluded. Women's education was perceived as a way of loosening male control and, predictably, it became the basis of women's rights in India. The pressure exerted by the colonial state through its accusation of backwardness, forced the Muslims to extend education to women. However, since women are seen as the repositories of cultural and traditional values, their education was justified within the framework of Islam. In 1885, the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam opened five girls' elementary schools in Lahore to preserve Islamic values and ideals.

Even the Begum of Bhopal, who advocated women's education and stirred a profound awakening amongst women, insisted that purdah be observed in schools. The notion of 'upper class charity went a long way in making female education acceptable.' Ayesha Khan rightly observes that Muslim women who championed the cause of female education 'made repeated compromises with institutions or ideologies other than women's emancipation. They made

concessions to Islam, to Muslim nationalism ... and to the demands of their elite class ... the deepest current of their beliefs was subject to the demands of religion.' Gradually, women's education became acceptable among Muslim communities that had felt besieged by the imposition of an alien Western culture. In 1903, at the annual meeting of the MEC in Bombay, Chand Begum presented a paper on education. Her paper was read out by a Parsi woman due to the constraints of veiling. Chand Begum criticized Muslim clerics and argued fervently in favour of modern education for women. At this session, the MEC passed a resolution for establishing a Normal School for female teachers which finally opened in Aligarh in 1913. The following year, the first Urdu journal for women, Khatoon, was published by Shaikh Abdullah. By 1904, the education reform movement had gained momentum and received the support of Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali. A newspaper for women's rights, Huquq-e-Niswan, was started by Syed Mumtaz Ali and his wife Muhammadi Begum. This newspaper was widely publicized across large parts of India and came to be known as Rahbar-e-Niswan, the guiding light for women. A number of girls' schools were opened between 1904 and 1911 in Bombay, Calcutta, Aligarh, Lahore, Karachi and Patna. In Lahore, three newspapers emerged called Akhbar-e-Niswan, Sharif Bibi and Tahzeeb-e-Niswan. Although most of these were run by men, women contributed articles and stories. Over time, increasing numbers of women began to be educated. In 1922, Sultan Begum of Bengal became the first woman to receive her master's degree in law.

Around the same period, the Faizi sisters rose to prominence and went abroad for higher education. Subsequently, they played significant roles in furthering Muslim women's rights. In 1924, women were excluded from the annual session of the MEC. In 1925, Attiya Faizi travelled from Bombay to Aligarh, gate-crashed the annual MEC meeting and addressed an all-male gathering from behind a curtain. The presiding officer was so embarrassed that he escorted her to the dais from where she spoke breaking all the norms and taboos around women's appearance in public. Women were not excluded from MEC meetings that followed. The education reform movement, though conservative in orientation, provided women with the knowledge and skills needed to speak up for their rights.

Women's Rights

Between the years 1886 and 1917, ideas regarding women's roles and status in society were transformed among Muslim communities in India. The spread of education among the Muslim elite gave further impetus to the breaking of traditional moulds. At that time, the first women's organization was born due to the efforts of Sir Muhammad Shafi, who lived in Lahore and was a strong advocate of women's rights. He was opposed to veiling and supported the right to inheritance. In 1908, the Anjuman-e-Khawateen-e-Islam was founded in Lahore for the promotion of the rights of women in Islam. This organization also carried out social work among the destitute women living in villages. In 1915, the first All-India Muslim Ladies Conference was attended by a few select women from among the elite. In 1917, this organization passed a resolution against polygamy causing a major stir in Lahore. The same year, a delegation led by Begum Hasrat Mohani met the Secretary of State Montagu, demanding increased educational facilities for women along with better health and maternity services. The delegation also demanded equal franchise for women in the forthcoming Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. In 1918, both the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress announced support for women's franchise. However, in 1919 when the reforms were instituted, the colonial government refused arguing that conditions were not conducive in India for women's franchise and left the matter to the provinces. In 1921, Madras granted women's franchise and by 1925 all the provinces except

Orissa and Bihar granted voting rights to propertied persons, men and women. In the First Roundtable Conference in 1930-31 a memorandum was presented by Jahanara Shahnawaz, daughter of Sir Muhammad Shafi. It demanded rights for all, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex. In 1932, the All-India Muslim League expressed its support for women's demands. The Government of India Act of 1935 enfranchised six million women and, for the first time, reserved seats for women were allocated in both the Council of State (six out of one hundred and fifty) and the February Assembly (nine seats out of two hundred and fifty). The slow awakening and increasing consciousness, which began with the right to education, was by then beginning to transform into a struggle for women's political rights. Pan-Islamist Movement the national debates of the time revolved around nationalist and religious struggles against a colonial regime. Women's consciousness rose over social and educational issues, did not remain untouched by the larger context within which the debates occurred. The Khilafat Movement of the early decades of the 20th century (1919-1924), mobilized Muslim identities across vast territories. A pan-Islamic movement, it called upon the British to protect the caliphate in Turkey, and for Indian Muslims to unite and hold the British accountable for this purpose. However, the movement ended with a secular Turkey abolishing the roles of the Sultan and the Caliph. In India, the Ali Brothers, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar and Maulana Shaukat Ali Johar, were in the forefront of the movement motivating Indian Muslims to support the cause. Large numbers of Muslim women were mobilized politically for a pan-Islamic cause. Separate meetings were held by women in Delhi and Lucknow which were addressed by Bi Amma, the mother of Ali Brothers. The wives and mothers of prominent men attended the meetings and became aware of the political realities of the time. Bi Amma addressed meetings across the length and breadth of India and the Muslim women were joined by Hindu women on several occasions. The women exhorted the men to join the Non-Cooperation Movement and sought to instil patriotism and religious sentiments among Indians, particularly Muslims.

In 1917, when her son was in prison, Bi Amma addressed the all-male meeting of the All-India Muslim League and spoke from behind the veil. It was the first time that a Muslim woman addressed a political meeting of men. In 1921, Bi Amma addressed a mass meeting in Lahore and lifted her veil for the first time, stating that all the men were her brothers and sons and she did not need to use the veil in front of them. Her age, status and respect protected her against criticism. Furthermore, Bi Amma belonged to India and was not a product of Western influences. This protected her against the charge which was levelled at other women who appeared to be influenced by an encroaching modernity. Although, she and her cohorts were not demanding women's rights, the participation in political action created a consciousness of justice which she wanted for her son. Men encouraged women's involvement in politics for religious and national causes, not for women's own rights. While pan-Islamist religious and nationalist movements provided the impetus for women's education and led to the early consciousness of rights, such movements were also conservative and patriarchal. Both religion and nationalism tend to define women in traditional ways believing them to be the repositories of tradition, culture and custom. Syed Ahmad Khan was staunchly opposed to women's education wanting only Muslim males of the Ashrafiya educated in order to compete with Hindus in the arena of politics and commerce. When he realized that women's education was inevitable, he proposed to control the content so that it would not deviate from religious instruction and household functions. Similarly, Nazeer Ahmad, while upholding an education in secular subjects, also emphasized women's education toward making them dutiful wives and good Muslim women.

The Khilafat and nationalist movements were not liberating for women as they invoked cultural nationalism which reinforces the patriarchal ideas of masculinity and femininity. This cultural nationalism later fed into the discourse of the Two-Nation Theory based on religion. Such agendas are ultimately conservative and merely created spaces for women's participation, which led gradually to an awareness of their own rights as women.

Rise of Anti-colonial Nationalist Movements in India

Women were massively mobilized in the Pakistan Movement. As increasing numbers of women joined the Muslim League, a women's section was formed. In the famous Lahore session of the Muslim League in 1940, an unprecedented number of women participated. The same year saw them take out a procession for the Pakistan Movement. In April 1940, women took out a protest demonstration against the arrest of Muslim League leaders and the banning of the Khaksar Tehreek. This was the first time that women took to street politics clad in burqas (veils). Not surprisingly, the press condemned them as shameless women who would usher in the downfall of Muslims. But the women were not to be deterred and in June the Khaksar Tehreek women organized another demonstration led by eleven-year-old Saeeda Bano from Delhi, an eloquent speaker. On June 18, women joined men in another procession and the police made arrests when they defied their orders. The men asked the women to return to their homes but they refused and, for the first time in the history of the Subcontinent, women were arrested for political action. The nationalist struggle mobilized a large number of educated, upper class women. In 1941, it was decided that a Muslim Girls Student Federation would be formed and it was launched by Lady Abdul Qadir, Fatima Begum and Miss M. Qureshi. This group mustered support for the idea of Pakistan. They received an enthusiastic response and in a few months the Jinnah Islamic College had enrolled a thousand students for the cause. This organization was pivotal in the formation of the women's sub-committee subsequently in the Muslim League, which toured the country garnering support for the freedom movement. In 1942, Lady Maratab Ali commented that the days had gone when women were fit only for cooking food and rearing children, and the time had come for them to take an equal share of responsibility with their menfolk in politics.

Acceptability of Women's social and political activism

In 1942, M.A. Jinnah expressed direct interest in the women's committees and addressed them. The women composed songs for the movement and went to the rural areas to gather support for the Pakistan movement. Jinnah was alive to the women's social conditions and addressed the issue. As a result, the Muslim League Central Committee formulated a programme for women's social, economic and cultural uplift. Over time, the woman question began to receive separate attention from the larger struggles. The sub-committee passed resolutions on housewives' problems and food shortages. The issue of women's inheritance was also raised. Women's deep involvement in the national struggle gradually led to an awareness of their own independent issues. In 1943, when a devastating famine in Bengal disrupted lives, the Muslim League women organized relief efforts and collected funds and provisions for the affected families. Poetry recitations meetings were called to raise funds in Lahore. Over time, the wider struggle for liberation rendered women's social and political activism acceptable and respectable. In 1943, five thousand women participated in the All-India Muslim League annual session in Karachi. The newly-formed Women's National Guard, which later became Pakistan Girl Guides, was also present. While women's collective participation in relief and social work became

acceptable in the context of the national struggle, such activities were extensions of women's traditional and maternal roles of providing succor and comfort in difficult times. Veiling and segregation enabled such activities because women were protected from the gaze of strange men. In the 1946 elections, two women candidates from the Muslim League, Salma Tassaduq Hussain and Jahanara Shahnawaz, participated. When the Muslim League was not allowed to form the government, five hundred women demonstrated in Lahore. As the level of activity increased, the colonial government banned the Muslim League National Guard. Upon offering resistance, several League leaders were arrested including Jahanara Shahnawaz, and other women courted arrest in her support. Begum Kamal-ud-Din Ahmad from the then North Western Frontier Province was taken to a women's jail in Lahore. On the following day, a large number of Muslim women came out on the streets to protest. They were baton-charged and tear-gassed, the first time that such tactics were employed against women in the Indian Subcontinent. Four of the women leaders were arrested by the colonial state and three girls were injured. As more and more women came out on the streets, they were arrested. In January 1947, sixteen League leaders, including Salma Tassaduq Hussain, were arrested and Section 144 was imposed which prohibits any public gathering of over four people. One tactic deployed by the colonial government was that the arrested women would be taken to various places outside the city and forced to find their own way home. The arrested women were kept in Gora Barracks, and in February three young burqa-clad girls entered the criminal wards for women, climbed the building and hoisted the Muslim League flag, all the while chanting slogans of Allah-o-Akbar. The Superintendent Jails arrived and had them beaten up by other inmates before they were dragged out of the premises. News of women breaking into jail and facing barricades and batons spread like wildfire and, towards the end of February, a large number of women marched towards the Secretariat Building. Thirteen-year-old Fatima Sughra climbed up the gate, removed the Union Jack and replaced it with her dopatta fashioned to look like the Muslim League flag. It was for the first time that the Muslim League 'flag' was hoisted on a government building replacing the government one.

Khuda Khidmatghar and Nationalist Movements

In 1947, when the Civil Disobedience movement was launched, women from the North Western Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) were mobilized by the Khudai Khidmatgar and nationalist movements. Pathan women marched unveiled in public for the first time and scaled walls to hoist the Muslim League flag. They went to jails and were tear-gassed and baton-charged. On April 3, 1947 fifteen hundred Pathan women publicly protested in the form of picketing. They also formed the 'War Council' and set up mobile radio stations and an underground radio station called, Pakistan Broadcasting Station, which operated right up to the time of independence in August 1947. However, the records as well as schools of the Khudai Khidmatgars were burned soon after the formation of Pakistan. As Mumtaz and Shaheed observe, Indian Muslim women had radically altered the parameters of their own existence and emerged as vocal and active individuals. Participation in the nationalist struggle led to an awareness of their oppression and rights as women. They had won the right to education, to vote and to own property in the course of the nationalist struggle. They became aware of their ability to mobilize, organize and provide services in crisis situations. However, their own struggle as women was subsumed under the larger nationalist struggle for independence. Nevertheless, the larger struggle created the space to break traditional norms, become politically active in the public sphere and violate the traditional boundaries of 'good Muslim womanhood'. They could

cast off the veil, talk to strangers, enter politics, take out processions, shout slogans, hoist flags and face police brutality. The national struggle made it possible to transgress traditional boundaries, an act which otherwise would receive disapprobation. The men were willing to grant the right to vote and get an education in the interest of the national liberation movement. However, the issue of polygamy was not taken up. As in other liberation movements across South Asia and elsewhere, women are called upon to participate and add to the numbers, and once the struggle is over and freedom won, they are forced back into traditional roles of motherhood, childcare and household duties, while men bask in the freedom so attained. The struggle to retain the few rights won is a continuous and ongoing one as in every subsequent era, there were attempts by the religious and conservative lobbies to undo the gains made by women during the national struggle. The Pan-Islamic and national liberation movements against colonial rule created spaces for women to emerge from seclusion and enter the public sphere, but this was not done in the interest of women's rights or empowerment. Rather, women were needed to add numbers to the nationalist movement. Nevertheless, the movement created a rudimentary awareness of women's ability to organize for collective goals. However, after the creation of Pakistan new forces assumed power with which women were forced to contend.

Post-colonial Re-structuring of State and Society

Once freedom was attained from colonial rule, new forces emerged on the political and global scene which directed the re-structuring of the state and society. In post-partition Pakistan, the religious forces that had opposed the idea of Pakistan because of the secular bent of mind of the Muslim League leaders became active. Even though Jinnah was secular in outlook and personal lifestyle, he resorted to the strategic use of religion in an effort to garner support among conservative Muslims. In his speech at the 1940 annual Muslim League meeting in Lahore, he reiterated the religion-based Two-Nation Theory premised on irreconcilable, eternal and irrevocable Hindu-Muslim differences. This set the stage for the move toward an Islamic state early on when, after Jinnah's death in 1948, the Constituent Assembly passed the Objectives Resolution in 1949 despite strong reservations expressed by the minority members. Jinnah's arguably secular position, taken a year earlier in his address to the Constituent Assembly, was shunned under the pressure of the Islamic lobby that now gained strength. In the early period of Pakistan's history, the struggle for women's rights was piecemeal, gradual and evolutionary. Progressive legislation was often resisted by the clergy, which perceived the steps in the direction of women's rights as Western and antithetical to religion and culture. Nonetheless, women belonging to ruling families continued to struggle for inclusion in the political process and rights.

The first legislature of Pakistan had two women representatives, Jahanara Shahnawaz, the Muslim League veteran who had been elected to the All-India Muslim League Council in 1937; and Shaista Ikramullah from the Suhrawardy family of East Pakistan. In the early period of Pakistan's history, women began to make demands for their own rights now that the nationalist struggle was over. In 1948, the first attempt was made to secure economic rights for women during the budget debate. When the Shariat bill was removed from the agenda of the assembly, the women legislators were furious and took up the issue with the Muslim League Women's Committee. Thousands of women marched to the Assembly chambers shouting slogans, led by Jahanara Shahnawaz and other women leaders and finally the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat (1948) became effective recognizing women's right to inherit property. The first piece of legislation may have been for the propertied classes only, but women took a stand against their male colleagues in the assembly for their own rights as women. The first Constituent Assembly

had several special committees, including the Basic Principles Committee, Fundamental Rights Committee and Nationality Committee. In each of these, Jahanara Shahnawaz and Shaista Ikramullah countered male chauvinists and ulema. In the Zakat committee, the ulema refused to sit with women members, arguing that only burqa-clad women above the age of fifty should be allowed to sit in the Assembly, a demand that was to be raised again by the Ansari Commission in the decade of the 1980s. The earliest echoes of contestation and challenge between the women and the religious lobby had begun to be heard. The women leaders had begun to make political demands also, for example, they raised issue of 10% reserved seats for women in the legislatures at the Round Table Conference in the 1930s. At that time, they could only get 3% reserved quota.

In September 1954, at the final meeting of the Constituent Assembly, when the draft bill for the Charter of Women's Rights prepared by Jahanara Shahnawaz was discussed, the reserved seats remained at 3% for both the central and provincial assemblies. The other demands in the Charter included equality of status, equality of opportunity, equal pay for equal work and guarantee of inheritance rights for Muslim women under the Islamic Personal Law of Shariat. The Charter of demands was supported by members of minority communities and Muslim politicians, and was passed unanimously. Initially, it was opposed by Sir M. Zafarullah, who was chairing the meeting, on the grounds that a new-born state could not afford justiciable fundamental rights. At this stage, it seems that women were making demands for rights granted within religious law. They were working within a religious framework which enabled them to succeed without too much backlash. In 1951, the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat became effective and women received the right to inherit agricultural land for which they had been fighting since 1948. In an assembly full of males, women legislators pushed forward their agenda successfully. In 1955, women's organizations ran a campaign against Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra's second marriage and this was spearheaded by the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), which was later to play a major role in legal reform. As a result of the campaign, the United Front for Women's Rights was formed under the leadership of Jahanara Shahnawaz. The combined pressure by United Front and APWA forced the government to appoint a commission headed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Justice Rashid, to examine laws of marriage, divorce, maintenance and custody of children. The Report was formulated in 1956 with a lengthy dissenting note from Maulana Ehtashamul Haq Thanvi. The orthodox reaction got the report shelved, but the seeds of the women's struggle against patriarchy and religious obscurantism were perceptible even in the absence of an organized and coherent movement for change.

Contributions of Bhegum Rana Liaqat Ali

In the 1956 Constitution, the principle of female suffrage for women's reserved seats was accepted on the basis of special women's territorial constituencies, thus giving dual voting rights to women for both general and reserved women's seats. This was a major achievement, given the conservative lobby that constantly militated against women's rights. Unfortunately, Ayub Khan's takeover and martial law in 1958 led to the abrogation of the Constitution of 1956. However, at this early stage of the country's history, there was no coherent and organized women's movement to challenge the measures by the religious lobby and the clergy. Women, who had been mobilized by the nationalist movement prior to independence, became active in social welfare, particularly the rehabilitation of the refugees. The partition of the Subcontinent led to mass influx of refugees across the borders and they required services and help. This task was performed by women related to Muslim League and others belonging to the well-to-do classes who coul manage the time, resources and energy. The Prime Minister's wife, Ra'ana Liaquat Ali, was th

most outstanding woman who formed a large number of women's organizations and attended to many different areas that affect women, especially welfare and legal reform. In 1948, she started the Women's Voluntary Service (WVS) which administered first aid to women, organized food distribution, dealt with health problems and epidemics, collected clothing for the needy, and provided emotional and moral support. The relief and welfare work was widely accepted as it was seen as an extension of the nurturing role that women were traditionally expected to perform. Apart from being seen as a maternal and domestic role, the work of WVS was voluntary with the result that it did not lead to the kind of threat that women's paid work poses.

However, the reaction to two other organizations set up by Ra'ana Liaquat Ali is a telling indication of the deeply patriarchal and gendered nature of society. The societal reaction to the setting up in 1949 of the Pakistan Women's National Guard and Pakistan Women's Naval Reserve differed significantly from the response to the WVS which received support from the government. The National Guard and Naval Reserve were set up in response to the war with India and were respectively under the supervision of the army and navy, while Ra'ana Liaquat Ali was the Chief Controller of both. This work brought women into contact with unrelated men, so it was not just seen as 'manly' but also threatening. These two organizations trained women in military tactics including signalling, coding, marksmanship, use of weapons and defense. Upon criticism by conservatives, a dopatta was added to their uniforms. However, the training of women for purposes that deviated from the social and traditional norms, and their empowerment in what were believed to be masculine pursuits, raised many eyebrows. This violation of the patriarchal public/ masculine and private/feminine division was met with opprobrium and after Ra'ana Liaquat Ali left the country to serve as ambassador to the Netherlands, these two outfits fizzled out.

Women were acceptable in the public sphere insofar as they conformed to a traditional and conservative vision of housewives, mothers, welfare workers and service providers. The absence of a feminist or women's movement meant that the conservative lobby could overwhelm the government over such measures. Nevertheless, Ra'ana Liaquat Ali was the first woman ambassador of the country, and this appointment was not subjected to major criticism. Based on the success of the Women's Voluntary Service and the interest of a large number of women, in 1949 Ra'ana Liaquat invited a hundred women to a meeting in Karachi and from this was born the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) which, in the context of the time, made invaluable contributions not only to welfare but also in the arena of legal reform.

APWA was a voluntary non-political organization open to all women over sixteen years of age, irrespective of class, caste, colour or creed. The objectives were to be a welfare organization for Pakistani women. It focused on creating educational, social and cultural consciousness and improving the economic participation of women for national development. Urban women from well-to-do classes joined and it became an acceptable avenue for women's activities outside the home. APWA opened girls' schools, health centres and industrial homes, and imparted sewing and related skills for income generation. Most of its activities were concentrated in Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar with district and divisional headquarters in other parts of the country. APWA's relationship with the government was one of mutual accommodation and cooperation. It, therefore, received government funding as well as patronage. It was a non-threatening organization because of the focus on welfare and development. Its main work was on women's education, development skills and income-generation. It opened schools, colleges, industrial

homes and organized meena bazaars to market the products of needy women. Apart from welfare and development activities, APWA made forays into the political and legal arenas.

In 1953, APWA recommended ten reserved seats for women in the National and Provincial Assemblies. In spite of a predominantly non-political and welfare approach, APWA was not approved by religious clerics who chastised Ra'ana Liaquat and others for not wearing the veil. The Majlis-e-Ahrar, a right-wing orthodox party, labelled them prostitutes. The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) also looked upon them with disapproval, despite having opposed the very formation of Pakistan. The conflict and tension between the right-wing religious lobbies and women's rights campaigners goes way back in history, but at that point it did not become an open battle as it did in later years. Ra'ana Liaquat Ali, a tireless campaigner, initiated many other organizations and the time period appears to be rich in terms of the sheer number of organizations of women that were formed. In 1954, the Karachi Business and Professional Women's Club was established to bring professional women together on a platform. And, later it established branches in Lahore, Peshawar and Rawalpindi. In 1956, the Federation of University Women was formed for women who did not enter the workforce after obtaining university degrees. A Degree College for women in Karachi was opened during that rich period which spawned a number of organizations for women's education and professional advancement. Most other organizations were formed with specific objectives including, Family Planning Association of Pakistan (FPAP), Pakistan Child Welfare Council (PCWC), Pakistan Red Cross, Pakistan Nurses Federation (PNF), Housewives' Association, Girl Guides Association, and International Women's Club. There was growing social awareness and each of these selected a specific area of expertise and worked on women's social and economic issues. The Democratic Women's Association (DWA), formed in 1948 was unique in that it organized women at the political level and was established along Marxist principles. Led by the Marxist activist, Tahira Mazhar Ali, the DWA worked with working class women in factories and low-income areas, while focusing on political awareness and the creation of a socialist society.

The DWA wanted equal pay for equal work, educational opportunities for girls and women, hostels and transport facilities for working women, crèches and nurseries at places of work and expanded employment opportunities for women. It appealed to working class women concerned for the emancipation of working classes and the creation of a socialist society. Its work was confined to low-income areas and it did not mobilize many women from other classes; however, it is significant for being the only left-wing women's organization in the country. The DWA was one of the most prominent organizations that staunchly opposed the military operation in East Pakistan in 1971, and vociferously campaigned against the mass rape of Bangladeshi women. Some of the other organizations include the United Front for Women's Rights (UFWA) which was formed in 1955, and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) that had been working since 1899.

A few of these organizations have survived and are active to this day, while others fizzled out after brief periods of activity.

Ayub Khan (1958-1968)

APWA's warm and complementary relationship with the state continued through the era of Ayub Khan's military dictatorship. The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (MFLO) of 1961, which gave women a few rights with regard to marriage, the custody of children, divorce and registration of marriages and divorces, was passed as a result of APWA's efforts. It was basically

an attempt to discourage polygamy as the first wife's written permission became necessary for a husband's second marriage. The recommendations of Justice Rashid Commission (mentioned above) were not all embodied; nonetheless, some progress was made compared to before.

Prior to this, the Child Marriages Restraint Act of 1929 recommended fourteen years as the marriageable age for girls, and the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act of 1939 defined the grounds on which women could seek divorce, for example, cruelty and non-maintenance. Although the MFLO of 1961 was by no means radical, and the punishment for the second marriage was minor (an easily ignored small fine) with annulment not being an option, it was, nonetheless, a small step in the direction of women's rights. Such achievements were possible because APWA did not challenge the military dictatorship which defined itself as benevolent, moderate and modern. Even though the law was relatively weak, modest and moderate in relation to expectations, it was vehemently opposed by the Ulema who spoke against it from pulpits and condemned it as tampering with the Quran. Women retaliated by launching a movement in support of the Family Laws Ordinance, and in Lahore Begum Nasim Jahan led a march against the clerics which ended with the burning of the effigy of Maulana Abbas Ali Khan, a virulent opponent, in front of the Punjab Assembly. The absence of a vibrant women's rights movement or feminist struggle was one of the reasons that when Fatima Jinnah stood in the elections against Ayub Khan in 1965, he used the Ulema to declare that a woman could not be the head of state in a Muslim country.

Ayub Khan's accusations that Fatima Jinnah was an Indian and American agent, and an unfeminine and un-motherly figure were not met with indignation and anger, unlike the effect of such accusations against Benazir Bhutto decades later, when they were met with scorn, anger, and uproar. Ironically, in an attempt to remove Ayub Khan and gain power, the Jamaat-e-Islami supported Fatima Jinnah and radically altered its earlier position that women could not become heads of state in an Islamic country. There was a proliferation of women's organizations in the 1960s and 1970s, some concerned with welfare, others with economic and professional aims, and still others based on economic empowerment. Some of these include the Behbud Association formed in 1967 for social welfare and income-generation activities, and the exclusive Soroptimist Club, also established in 1967, which worked with women in senior managerial and administrative positions. The women's organizations worked together cooperatively and many had the same members on their boards, for example, Miriam Habib, the first recognized woman journalist in Pakistan, served on the executive boards of many organizations. The shared visions and common concerns led to a great deal of mutual interaction and collaboration.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1972-77)

Ayub Khan's regime ended in 1968 after massive street protests against his dictatorship. However, power was grabbed by another military dictator, Yahya Khan during whose tenure national elections were held and won convincingly by the Awami League, a party based in East Pakistan. However, the West Pakistani civil and military rulers failed to transfer power and initiated a military operation in East Pakistan which ended in 1971 with the secession of the province which became Bangladesh. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) that had won the general election of 1970 in West Pakistan assumed power in 1972. The transformations in the state and reconfiguration of power did not change the relationship with women's groups and the mutual accommodation and collaboration of the Ayub era continued during the brief period of democracy. In the 1970 elections, it was widely believed that women, for the first time, voted

independently of their male kin on account of being attracted by Bhutto's rhetoric of equality and justice for the oppressed. Nasim Jahan, a founder member of PPP, mobilized educated women in Lahore as in other cities and spread the PPP ideas in various localities and neighbourhoods. Women, who had participated in PPP election campaigns, became a part of PPP's mohalla committees. Women from low-income areas as well as educated middle class were drawn to the dream of a just and socialist society. Nasim Wali Khan was the first woman to win the election on a general seat but did not take oath as many of the parties seeking provincial autonomy were labelled 'traitors' by the PPP government, and the National Awami Party government in Balochistan was dismissed. In spite of such undemocratic measures, the PPP government was regarded as more women-friendly than its predecessors. In 1972 the PPP formed a constitution-making committee which had two women, Nasim Jahan and Ashraf Abbasi.

The 1973 Constitution gave more rights to women than in the past. Article 25 declared that every citizen was equal before law and Article 25 (2) said there would be no discrimination based on sex alone. Article 27 stated that there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, caste or sex for appointment in the service of Pakistan.

Article 32 of the Basic Principles of State Policy guaranteed reservation of seats for women, and Article 35 stipulated that the state shall protect marriage, family and mother and child. The constitution was unanimously ratified in the Assembly and later Article 228 was amended to accept the principle of at least one woman member on the proposed Council of Islamic Ideology. In spite of women's efforts, however, the idea of female suffrage for reserved seats for women was rejected, both in the constitution committee and the National Assembly. In the 1973 constitution, women continued to be indirectly elected members of the Assemblies. The PPP government took other measures to raise women's status and a cell was set up to evaluate the status of women. Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali was made Governor of Sindh and Kaniz Yousaf was made the Vice-Chancellor of a university. Begum Ashraf Abbasi was elected as the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and all government services were opened to women through administrative reforms in 1972. Women could enter the services from which they were hitherto debarred, such as the Foreign Service and management groups. Women could now be Prime Minister, Governor or Cabinet Minister. A massive induction in the Foreign Service through lateral entry led to 121 entrants and the first ever women Foreign Service cadre came into being.

In 1975, the International Women's Year (IWY) was launched. The Prime Minister's wife, Nusrat Bhutto, went to Mexico to represent Pakistan and signed the Mexico Declaration. Following this, a semi-autonomous Pakistan Women's Institute was set up in Lahore to mark the IWY. In 1976, a thirteen-member Women's Rights Committee was set up chaired by Yahya Bakhtiar, the first Attorney General of Pakistan. It included nine women; some of whom had been pressing for a commission to determine the status of women to make recommendations to improve their situation. This demand was mainly pushed by Nasim Jahan, Miriam Habib, Rashida Patel and Zari Sarfraz. The commission's task was to consider and formulate proposals for law reforms to improve the social and economic conditions of women. It presented its proposals on law reforms in July 1976 and made recommendations shortly after. However, it was neither ratified nor implemented and never made public. The PPP set up a Women's Wing under Nusrat Bhutto and provincial wings were formed which educated women in the philosophy of Marxism and socialism. The women's wing held elections leading to the emergence of new leadership from among the middle class and low-income groups. Various trade unions and students' organizations emerged and were aligned with the PPP. During the

PPP tenure, APWA continued to work without interference and the United Front for Women's Rights was revived to struggle for women's reserved seats through female suffrage but fizzled out when this endeavour failed.

In the 1970s, women's organizations such as Shirkat Gah, Aurat Foundation and the Women's Front arose. The Women's Front, based in Lahore, was a small group of aggressive and radical left-wing Punjab University students, but it petered out after the students graduated and moved on. This group contested union elections and won both seats for women and organized chapters in other cities such as Sargodha and Multan. Their slogan was, 'women and politics are one.' Aurat, based in Islamabad, was composed of left-wing university teachers and students and worked in low-income neighbourhoods for the depressed classes. The organization brought out a newsletter which focused on the class struggle and wrote about male domination. However, lack of funding and human resources meant that it could not be sustained. Some members of the organization later founded the Aurat Foundation which focused on a range of women's issues. Several organizations for women began to emerge in various cities, however some became pivotal in launching an active and vibrant women's movement. Shirkat Gah was also established in the 1970s and became central during subsequent decades as the Women Action Forum emerged from this organization. The idea arose from the International Women's Year and in 1976, educated urban middle class women formed Shirkat Gah as a publication and resource centre for women. It promoted the social and economic development of women and carried out research and 'consciousness-raising' activities. Shirkat-Gah set up a women's hostel and day-care centres for working women. Beginning from the post-partition period to the end of the PPP's rule in 1977 through a military coup, the relationship of the women's movement with the nascent state remained devoid of conflict and confrontation. The governments, whether civil or military, supported the women's organizations in-so-far as they remained within the confines of traditional norms and engaged in welfare work.

The women's organizations remained concerned with women's economic uplift, development and consciousness-raising and did not offer political resistance. They gained a few rights and concessions from both the civilian and military governments with which the relationship was characterized by collaboration and mutual accommodation. The women's organizations of the time did not challenge the legitimacy of the military government or its attitude towards Fatima Jinnah. Similarly, they failed to question or resist the Islamist provisions of the 1973 constitution, the lesser status of non-Muslim citizens, the declaration of Islam as the state religion, and the forcing out of Ahmadis from the pale of Islam in 1974. These steps and other measures, such as the banning of alcohol and gambling, the declaration of Friday as the weekly holiday, all done to appease the religious lobby, set the stage for the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) movement against Bhutto which culminated into military takeover and aggressive Islamization. The women's organizations operating at that time appear to have been quiescent and willing to ignore the larger questions of democracy and justice as long as women received a few rights. However, the few rights that they achieved during the Ayub and Bhutto periods were also subjected to continual challenge from the religious orthodoxy bent upon taking Pakistan in a theocratic direction from its inception. These efforts gained momentum in the ensuing period of General Zia-ul-Haq's military rule when the orthodoxy gained ascendancy thereby rudely awakening women's groups into mobilizing to defend the few rights they had won.

Cold War Imperialism and the Rise of Islamization

The year 1979 was a watershed in the history of Pakistan as well as globally. The orthodox revolution in neighbouring Iran, and the Soviet Union's incursion into Afghanistan, foreshadowed massive reconfigurations of power globally, along with the radical reconstruction of the state in Pakistan. Pakistan became the frontline state in the Cold War contest between competing imperialisms in Afghanistan. While the Soviet imperialism was based on a communist perspective, the competing US one sought an ally in a specific version of Islam to fight against 'ungodly' communism. For the Pakistani military dictator Zia-ul-Haq, who had seized power in an illegal coup in 1977, the Cold War competing imperialisms provided a perfect opportunity to gain legitimacy by wrapping himself in an Islamic garb.

The Islamization agenda that had been initiated by Bhutto's 'Islamic Socialism' was now intensified. Zia proceeded straightaway to Islamize Pakistan based on the Deobandi/Wahabi version derived from Jamaat-eIslami and Saudi Arabian articulations of Islam. Radical changes were made in the school curricula, educational policies, the media and the judiciary to strengthen the tenuous Islamic credentials of the regime. Harsh punishments, such as flogging and stoning to death, were borrowed from the Saudi model and journalists as well as lawyers were not spared in the drive to 'cleanse' society of all the evils of socialism that Bhutto had propagated. Only the economy was exempted from the so-called Islamization as it was based on an international fiscal system in which interest had to be paid. However, Zakat, Ushr and Islamic banking forms were introduced to justify the resort to religion.

General Zia's Islamization drive was not confined to the public sphere as he wanted to restructure and regulate the private one also. Salaat Committees were constituted to ensure that people prayed regularly and observed other Islamic injunctions. With a relentless focus on piety in the private sphere and control over the personal lives of citizens, an inordinate amount of attention fell upon women who were seen as the repositories of culture, religion and tradition. The veil and the four walls were emphasized, piety in dress codes was imposed by vigilantes operating in the public sphere, and violence was used to ensure compliance with official measures. The entire legal structure was reconstructed to institutionalize discrimination against women and non-Muslim citizens. A number of discriminatory laws including the Hudood Ordinance of 1979, the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance and the Law of Evidence of 1984 were promulgated. The Qisas and Diyat law privatized the crime of murder and saved the perpetrators of 'honour killing'. The Law of Evidence reduced women's testimony in a court of law to half that of men.

In 1983, the Ansari Report of the Council of Islamic Ideology recommended that women's participation in politics should be limited to nominated women over the age of fifty. In 1985, the Shariat Bill (9th Amendment) threatened to abolish the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961. In the early years, women belonging to various organizations watched with incredulity the spate of laws and measures to control and order their lives in accordance with General Zia's vision of religion. There were dress code restrictions, coupled with restrictions on participation in spectator sports, and enhanced segregation with a proposal for a separate women's university. By that time, a new generation of middle class women, which had studied in Western universities and was exposed to the feminist movements in those countries, had entered the workforce in various fields. They were seriously perturbed over the continuous attacks on relatively tolerant and diverse culture of previous decades. Dr Israr's lectures on a TV show in which he advocated the exit of women from the economy, threatened the loss of livelihood of

large number of women who worked at universities and other places. However, it was the Fehmida and Allah Bux case, filed under the Zina Ordinance (one of the five Hudood Ordinances) that motivated women to protect and preserve the few rights they had achieved in the two previous dispensations. From that point on, the relationship between women and the state transformed radically from the mutual accommodation of the earlier decades to conflict, confrontation and contestation.

The Zina Ordinance of 1979 conflated adultery with rape and erased the distinction between them. This law made it virtually impossible to prove rape and, upon failure to prove it, the woman was transformed into the culprit while the rapist went scot-free. The punishment for adultery was stoning to death. The harsh punishments in the name of Islam mobilized the women into taking action. Following the year of its promulgation, a large number of rural and urban women from the economically marginalized groups were booked under false cases of Hudood and languished in jails for years.

In 1981, a group of women met in Shirkat Gah Karachi and formed the Women Action Forum (WAF). In a short span of time, there were chapters in Lahore, Islamabad and Peshawar. For the next decade, WAF became the face of the women's movement in Pakistan, although the Sindhiani Tehreek in Sindh was a radical organization which used direct action as a method to fight not only the military regime but also patriarchy as articulated in interior Sindh. WAF used picketing, demonstrations, processions, rallies, signature campaigns, consciousness raising, telegrams, writing and other strategies to register protest and oppose the regime's draconian measures. Each chapter functioned somewhat differently, depending upon the local context and ethnic mix, nevertheless WAF fought against the discrimination in law, spectator sports, educational segregation, media regulations, dress codes, and the steady march towards a theocratic state.

In 1983, when the Pakistan Women Lawyers gave a call to march to the High Court with a petition against the then proposed Law of Evidence, a large number of WAF members joined the demonstration and were baton-charged and tear-gassed on the Mall, Lahore. WAF's profile was raised internationally and it made headlines in the national press as well as the international media. Subsequently, there was no turning back and WAF frequently resorted to pickets, demonstrations and protest rallies. The resistance to military rule and fundamentalism was not mounted only through the traditional methods of protest but also manifested itself in cultural forms such as poetry, literature, music, dance, theatre, films, art and painting. Kishwar Naheed's Hum Gunahgar Aurtain (We Sinful Women) and Fehmida Riaz's poem Chaadar Aur Chaardivari (the veil and the four walls) became anthems for the movement, along with Habib Jalib's famous poem read out at the February 12, 1983 demonstration in Lahore. The work of Salima Hashmi in painting, Madeeha Gauhar in theatre, Sheema Kirmani in dance and theatre, Sabiha Sumar in film-making, Sherry Rehman in journalism, Attiya Dawood and Azra Abbas in poetry, and Zahida Hina and Khalida Hussain in Urdu literature testifies to the multi-dimensional nature of the resistance. However, the success of WAF came with a price in that the differing voices within the WAF platform led to some of the most seething debates over strategy, aims and goals. At one point the debates led to a split in the Lahore chapter which was resolved after an acrimonious public controversy. The main debates in the WAF movement were the following: 1) Secular or religious framework; 2) focus on feminist issues only or larger ones that have an impact upon women; 3) a broad feminist approach or a narrow one on women's rights. There were three other debates which were of less import as they had more to do with functioning and terminology than an ideological disagreement. These

included: 1) non-hierarchical functioning versus a hierarchical structure; 2) non-political versus political orientation, and 3) Open versus closed membership. It is important to lay out the main contours of these debates within the socio-political context of the time.

Secular versus Religious Framework

Initially, WAF had no clear position on Islam although several of the founding members were secular and socialist in personal orientation. However, since WAF was a lobby-cum-pressure group consisting of individuals and organizations, there was wide variation in beliefs and sentiments. Many of the members were believers, while some were practicing Muslims. WAF, as a platform was diverse, therefore ambivalent with regard to Islam. Islam was a class-based issue as women from the urban lower middle classes were relatively more conservative and religious. The regime was justifying its measures by invoking its preferred version of Islam which was being imposed uniformly on all sects and all citizens. Hence the laws were made to appear divine and not open to challenge. Some of the members felt that WAF would have to engage with Islam as it was being relentlessly imposed. Additionally, it was felt that women from the lower middle and conservative classes had to be mobilized, since it appeared to become a matter of the word of God versus the word of women.

In 1983, WAF Lahore used the strategy of inviting religious clerics who espoused liberal interpretations of religion and rejected the official state version being imposed across the board. This pragmatism was merely a strategy since many of the women in their personal lives had a secular outlook. Some of the members believed that the regime had to be contested and resisted on its own turf with competing interpretations. There was a need to emphasize that what constituted 'true' Islam was ultimately a matter of interpretation. Additionally, as Mumtaz and Shaheed pointed out, a large number of customs, traditions and cultural practices which in fact violated Islamic injunctions were being justified by recourse to Islam. It was, therefore, vital to sift culture, tradition and custom from religion. It was necessary to separate other versions of Islam from the homogenized singular one emanating from the regime. Furthermore, it was argued that WAF would have to function within the social, political and ideological context of the country and ideologies, such as secularism, would alienate the more conservative element within the movement. Opposed to this perspective was the one forwarded by secular and socialist women within the movement, who argued that the strategic use of Islamic arguments would become self-defeating as women would be 'playing on the mullahs' wicket'. There were differing shades of opinion among the more secular women, which ranged from a strong belief in the human rights framework to those who envisioned a socialist society. However, liberal feminism was the dominant strand as the human rights discourse seemed less threatening than socialist or communist ideas. Those on the secular side of the debate argued that the country does not have a singular and monolithic reality; rather there were multiple realities and Islam constituted only one of those realities. Beyond religion, there was ethnicity, class, caste, gender and linguistic and regional identities. The majority of the people were not so focused on the supposed danger to Islam as on bread and butter issues. In any case, there was no threat to religion as Pakistan was an overwhelmingly Muslim country with a miniscule minority, especially after the break-up of the country in 1971. The minorities could never become equal citizens as long as the state remained defined by one religion, especially a monolithic interpretation of it. There was a palpable fear that if WAF framed its arguments within a religious framework, it would not be

able to emerge from it. For every liberal and modernist cleric, there were scores whose interpretation was fundamentalist, orthodox and literal. However, there were all kinds of complications as there have not been movements, such as the Reformation, in Islam since there is no Church from which to separate the state.

In Western countries, secularization has a long history going back to the Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment, urbanization, industrialization and capitalism. The secularization of Christianity was steeped in social, political and ideological movements and did not arise suddenly. In post-colonial states like Pakistan a modern secular democratic state had to be constructed from scratch. Another conundrum for the women's movement was that while feminism is premised on the idea that the personal is political, secularism separates the personal from the political because it separates the private from the public. It bans religion into the private sphere (usually associated with women) while making the public masculine sphere of politics and commerce free of religious constraints. For feminists, it is contradictory to assert that the personal is political while simultaneously demanding a secular state. After a long and obstreperous debate which lasted into the early 1990s, WAF declared that it stands for a democratic and secular state.

WOMEN'S ISSUES OR ALL ISSUES

Another debate that occupied WAF in the early years was whether to keep its focus on strictly women's issues or widen its scope to other related ones. The issue came up when some women were wrongly dismissed from their jobs in a private industry. Those insisting on a strictly feminist framework argued that since the women were not being oppressed on the basis of their gender but their employment, this discrimination does not fall within a feminist approach. Others argued that the discrimination against women in the workplace is as much a feminist issue as any other and, ultimately, some WAF members did take up the issue of labour and employment rights However, the larger issue that incited a heated debate within WAF was whether or not to participate in the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) against General Zia's illegal takeover and the end of democracy in the country. WAF Karachi was already active on the issue as Sindh was the most affected province in terms of the regime's backlash against the PPP, and the Karachi Chapter had been actively developing bridges along ethnic lines, as well as addressing the larger political questions of the time. In WAF Lahore, however, some of the staunch feminists believed that involvement in the larger political issues would lead to women becoming subsumed, as the history of Left movements indicates. They argued that although democracy was an issue for women, nonetheless, it was not specific to women. Furthermore, they felt that womanpower, time and energy to work on specifically women's issues were already in short supply so there was a danger of the few active women spreading themselves too thin.

On the other side were those who believed that women's issues cannot be addressed in isolation from other social and political issues, and that democracy was one of the necessary conditions for the existence of women's rights. While discussing the intersections between class and gender oppressions, and underscoring the necessity of forming alliances with groups engaged in other struggles and simultaneously retaining the autonomy of the women's movement, Shahnaz Rouse ruminates: I would argue that it is essential that women retain an

independent organization so that their cause does not become subservient to other issues. While retaining their relative autonomy, however, women can and should enter into a principled alliance with other political groups and parties whose struggles are not in contradiction to them. By forming such an alliance, women can put the women's question on the agenda of other political formations. In the long run, this debate was resolved when WAF openly declared that all issues, including democracy and federalism, are women's issues as they have an impact upon their lives. WAF subsequently challenged all forms of discrimination whether based on sex, gender, class, caste, religion or ethnicity. For example, Women Action Forum was one of the first organizations in Pakistan to publicly apologize to Bangladeshi women for the atrocities committed during the 1971 war.

Democracy and the Rise of Neo-liberalism

The decade of the 1990s was a game-changer at both the global and national levels. The last years of the 1980s saw the end of the Cold War and the breaking down of the Berlin Wall. The US heralded the New World Order and the era of neoliberal ideology became ascendant. One of the outcomes of neo-liberal globalization, and the ascendancy of the Bretton Woods Institutions, was the mass proliferation of non-governmental organizations funded by Western countries, ostensibly for development but also for the more insidious purpose of rolling back the state for trade liberalization, and opening borders for goods and services, though not for labour. For an understanding of the manner in which states were restructured and non-governmental organizations created to provide services in place of the state, it is important to briefly understand the ideology and practices of neoliberal ideology, which is premised primarily on three major tenets: privatization, trade liberalization and de-regulation.

Neo-liberalism, the State and 'Civil Society'

The close interrelations between neo-liberalism and the rise of all kinds of organizations loosely called 'civil society' were observed in many countries across the globe. As Jude Howell and Jenny Pearce observe: For donors, civil society is a force for and ingredient of democratization, as well as a natural component of a market economy. In legitimizing civil-society strengthening programmes, donors make frequent reference to the potential of civil society, to hold in check the state, to serve as the moral pulse of society and to further democratic values. By reducing the power of the state and increasing the role of the market, it is assumed that civil society too will flourish and will in turn encourage further economic liberalization.

In the former Soviet republics, as indeed elsewhere, there was a push to create a 'civil society' to diminish the power of allegedly authoritarian states. The idea was extended under the rubric of 'global governance' to become a global civil society. These good governance measures, promoted by the World Bank, became the political face of economic globalization. As Viviene Taylor insightfully observes: Global governance and efficient management have become the new mantras of international agencies and institutions at the same time as the power of states and the capacity of states to govern is being reorganized and redirected away from public interests to secure conditions for private interests ... The international debate on governance has been reduced to what kind of government is needed for the global market. The emphasis is on efficiency and engagement with the market forces in a competitive environment. Government's attention has been diverted from providing for its citizens to how to secure foreign investments and markets.

The idea was to diminish the state, which was now seen as an impediment to open borders and trade liberalization and, at the same time, to promote the idea of 'civil society' as the motor of development, bypassing the state. Taylor illuminates the manner in which the notions of transparency, accountability, rule of law and anticorruption, which in the past were oriented to the citizen as the object of democracy, have now been redirected towards private interest and the protection of multinational capital. The latter interests, argues Taylor, do not coincide with those of the dispossessed and 'the power of the state is being eroded in relation to public interest and governance is being marketized and depoliticized under the guise of democracy.' Ironically, the powerful global financial powers and institutions that promote the agenda of economic liberalization and set the terms are not transparent, democratized or open and are not amenable to the aspirations and needs of the majority of the poor or open to their inclusion.

The State in Pakistan in the Era of Neo-liberalism

The ascendance of neoliberal ideology coincided with the revival of parliamentary democracy. In 1988, General Zia's plane crashed and a new era of democratic governance emerged, along with an increasing number of foreign-funded non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Some NGOs had been established in the 1970s and 1980s such as Shirkat Gah, Simorgh, ASR and SAHE. However, in the 1990s there was a mushroom growth of NGOs working on various issues ranging from women's rights to labour, environment, sustainable development, child rights, and so on. A large number of NGOs on women's rights were created including Rozan, Bedari, Aurat Foundation among others, and this contributed to the fragmentation of the women's movement. The new mantra of the time was development, in particular, human development.

During the decade of the 1990s, Pakistan witnessed rapidly changing elected civilian governments which were repeatedly dismissed by non-elected and non-representative institutions. Two tenures of Benazir Bhutto and two of Nawaz Sharif were cut down half way through the terms. At the beginning of the new century, both popular leaders had been forced into exile. The weak and unstable civilian governments were not given much power or room to manoeuvre by Pakistan's powerful establishment nevertheless a few positive steps were taken at that time.

Benazir Bhutto's Regime

During Benazir Bhutto's two stints in government (1988-1990 and 1993-1996) some women-friendly measures were taken such as the setting up of Women's Studies Centres in various public sector universities. Furthermore, the First Women Bank was established in part as a development institution for women as one of its functions was to provide loans to women entrepreneurs on easy terms. Separate women police stations were set up although it is difficult for women, due to mobility issues, to reach even the nearest station, let alone one in a central place. Additionally, it is virtually impossible for women to register the First Information Report (FIR) with most police personnel reluctant to register complaints. While these modest measures alleviated some of women's chronic problems, the government did not have the required majority to amend any of the draconian laws passed by General Zia as they were protected by the notorious 8th Amendment inserted forcibly by him into the constitution. However, the big change for Pakistani women was that the general atmosphere in the country was far more open and liberal compared with the suffocating vigilantism of the Zia era. Women were not forced to observe a dress code, and could participate in spectator sports as well as move around freely without being hounded by Zia's violent vigilantes. During her second stint in power, Benazir

Bhutto represented Pakistan at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 which led to Pakistan acceding to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). While the government was not given the time or freedom to do much, there were no negative measures against women's right to education or work and their rights were reiterated and upheld by the government even though the parties in parliament could not agree on many issues owing to the presence of religious and conservative parties in the National Assembly and the Senate.

However, it was during Benazir Bhutto's second stint that the Taliban acquired power in neighbouring Afghanistan and the Pakistani establishment regarded them as its 'strategic assets' protecting the country's 'strategic depth', a theory that was to lead to much bloodshed in Pakistan in the following decades. The Interior Minister, Naseerullah Babar, who called the Taliban 'our children', facilitated the Taliban in becoming a unified force and taking over power from different factions of the Mujahideen and their warlords. The government had to recognize the Taliban regime even though Benazir Bhutto personally was strongly opposed to their worldview and practices. Nawaz Sharif's two stints in power (1990-1993 and 1997-1999) were characterized by the dominance of the religious right, along with a renewed stress on General Zia's unfinished agenda of Islamization. Although the government endorsed the National Plan of Action (NPA) in 1998, it was only in the areas of education and health that there was to be implementation. There were no major measures taken for the advancement of women even though lip service was paid to the cause. The discourse of NGO regulation and control became ascendant at the time. It was during Sharif's tenure that his minister, Pir Binyamin Rizvi, rabidly attacked ASR, the most avowedly secular and socialist feminist organization in the country.

"Musharaf era is labelled as an era of enlightened moderation and women empowerment. Many reports suggest that women's involvement in academia and higher education increased in his regime which is indeed a great achievement in its own right. As a counter narrative many people would say that only lip service were paid and in reality nothing changed. Sadly, they have plenty of supportive arguments to back up their claim" (Samraiz Hafeez, Article Published 2012)

Contemporary Issue

In 2014, the madrassa students of the Jamia Hafsa, led by Lal Masjid in the heart of Islamabad, openly announced their allegiance to Abu Bakar Al-Baghdadi, the leader of the Daaish. Jamia Hafsa women were shown in a video tape urging Pakistani militants to join the ranks of the Islamic state. The women's movement is no longer pitted only against the patriarchal social, economic and political structures; there is now palpable danger from non-state actors who challenge the writ of state. The dilemma that this situation poses for women is that on the one hand they must challenge the state for its denial of their rights, and on the other they have no choice but to support the state against those who seek to overrun it and impose their own system. How feminists negotiate their path through these complex situations remains to be seen."

CHAPTER 5

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Colonial and Capitalistic Perspectives of Gender

Colonialism, as a historical phenomenon of territorial expansion, is intimately connected with the rise and growth of the modern capitalist world system. So, it is entwined with history, economics, politics, etc., of the modern capitalist society. Colonialism is a complex phenomenon of capitalist expansion. In a narrow sense, colonialism refers to the process of control of supplies of raw materials, mineral resources, and markets in underdeveloped and pre-capitalist regions. Such narrow definition of colonialism overlooks a vital aspect of colonialism relating to political activity and the drive for dominance over the daily lives of the people of colonies. In a modern sense, colonialism is a general description of the state of subjection—political, economic, and intellectual—of a non-European society as a result of the process of colonial organization. Colonialism deprives a society of its freedom and its earth and, above all, it leaves its people intellectually and morally disoriented.

> **"Gender equality is more than a goal in itself. It is a precondition for meeting the challenge of reducing poverty, promoting sustainable development and building good governance."**

Colonialism, as a historical phenomenon, refers to foreign domination which implies that the colonized area is regulated in a manner known as 'unequal exchange'. Colonized societies are intended to serve the interests of the ruling country. Thus, by colonialism, we mean a system of political and social relations between two countries—of which one is the ruler and the other is its colony.

There are four common characteristics of colonialism:

1. Political and legal domination over an alien society.
2. Relations of economics and political dependence.
3. Exploitation between imperial powers and the colony.
4. Racial and cultural inequality.

Colonialism vs. Imperialism

(i) Colonialism is a term where a country conquers and rules over other regions. Imperialism means creating an empire, expanding into the neighbouring regions and expanding its dominance far.

(ii) In Colonialism, one can see great movement of people to the new territory and living as permanent settlers. Imperialism is just exercising power over the conquered regions either through sovereignty or indirect mechanisms of control.

(iii) Imperialism has a long history whereas colonialism came much afterwards.

(iv) Initially, Imperialism was done so as to establish one's emperor in other part of the globe. It was supposed to be a royal kind of thing. Europeans thought that they are superior to others (racism) and hence they thought imperialism as a matter of pride. Whereas, colonialism was practiced for economic purposes.

(v) Later, the purpose of imperialism (new imperialism) also became mainly economic.

(vi) Further, in the study of the imperialism we read about the mother country whereas it is the opposite in case of colonialism.

Gender and Coloniality of Power[1]

The intersection of gender and race in large structural terms is to understand that all power is structured in relations of exploitation, conflict and domination as social actors fight over governing of the four rudimentary areas of human existence i.e. sex, labour, collective authority and subjectivity, their resources and products. Eurocentric capitalist power is organized around two axes: the coloniality of power and modernity. The battle-axes over the control of each area of existence in such a way that the meaning and forms of domination in each area are thoroughly infused by the modernity and coloniality of power. So, the struggles over control of "sexual access, its resources and products" define the domain of sex or gender and the disputes, in turn, can be understood as organized around the axes of coloniality and modernity.

To understand the place of gender in pre-colonial societies, it is pivotal to understand the nature and scope of changes in the social structural processes of establishing colonial or modern patterns imposed by Eurocentric capitalism. These changes were introduced through heterogeneous, slow, and erratic processes that cruelly inferiorized colonized women. Coloniality of power was introduced thoroughly informed gender system. Gender in colonial societies is also pivotal in understanding the degree and importance of the gender system in decaying egalitarian relations, communal relations, and ritual-thinking, decision-making and collective authority. It should be clear by now that the colonial-modern-gender system cannot exist without the coloniality of powers since the stratification of the people in terms of race or sex is a necessary condition of its possibility.

Gist of Ideology

While understanding Euro-centred global capitalism, it is necessary to understand the extent to which the very process of les sening the concept of gender to the control of sex and its resources constitutes gender domination. To comprehend the interconnecting of gender racialization, it is imperative to contemplate the socio-cultural procedures prior to colonization regarding "sex" that provide incongruity in meanings to them across all spheres of life. Assuming the coloniality of power, it can also be said that having a "negative" and a "positive side" is characteristic of the development of the coloniality of power and the colonial or modern

[1] Retrieved From: https://globalstudies.trinity.duke.edu/wp-content/themes/cgsh/materials/ WKO/ v2d2_ Lugones.pdf

gender arrangements. Considering critically both biological dimorphism and the position that gender socially constructs biological sex is pivotal to understand the scope, depth, and characteristics of the colonial/modern gender system. Biological dimorphism and the position that gender socially constructs biological sex is pivotal to understand the scope, depth, and characteristics of the colonial/modern gender system.

The sense is that the reduction of gender to the private, to control over sex and its resources and products is a matter of ideology, of the cognitive production of modernity that understood race as gendered and gender as raced in particularly differential ways for Europeans/"whites" and colonized/"non-white" peoples. Race is no more mythical and fictional than gender, both powerful fictions. In the development of twentieth century feminism, the connection between genders, class, and heterosexuality as racialized was not made explicit. That feminism centered its struggle and its ways of knowing and theorizing against a characterization of women as fragile, weak in both body and mind, secluded in the private, and sexually passive. But it did not bring to consciousness that those characteristics only constructed white bourgeois womanhood. Indeed, beginning from that characterization, white bourgeois feminist's theorized white womanhood as if all women were white. It is part of their history that only white bourgeois women have consistently counted as women so described in the West. Females excluded from that description were not just their subordinates. They were also understood to be animals in a sense that went further than the identification of white women with nature, infants, and small animals. They were understood as animals in the deep sense of "without gender," sexually marked as female, but without the characteristics of femininity.

Main Factors

Imperialism and colonialism are factors one should consider when analyzing a country's successful participation in the global economy. Not only did these phenomena affected the colonialized countries' economies by stripping their resources; its population also experienced a so-called identity crisis, because they were not used to their independent status nor had they the understanding of political functions and their relationships. The inequality between developed states and developing states is discussed in the politics of modernization by Max Weber.

Women racialized as inferior were turned from animals into various modified versions of "women" as it fit the processes of Euro-centred global capitalism. Thus, heterosexual rape of Indian women, African slave women, co-existed with concubinage, as well as with the imposition of the heterosexual understanding of gender relations among the colonized—when and as it suited Eurocentered, global capitalism, and heterosexual domination of white women. But it is clear from the work of Oyewumi and Allen that there was no extension of the status of white women to colonized women even when they were turned into similes of bourgeois white women. Colonized females got the inferior status of gendering as women, without any of the privileges accompanying that status for white bourgeois women.

Capitalism or Calvinism[2]

There are several different types of economic systems employed by nations. Two such types, socialism and capitalism, are the most common. Capitalism is often referred to as a free

[2] Retrieved from http://www.investopedia.com/articles/investing/102914/main-characteristics-capitalist-economies.asp

market economy in its purest form; a common type of socialism is communism. Embedded in these economic systems are political and social elements that influence the degree of purity of each system. In other words, many capitalist nations have elements of socialism interwoven. So even though there are different degrees or levels of commitment to the ideals of capitalism, there are several traits that are common to all capitalists.

Top Characteristics of Capitalism

1. **Two-class system**

Historically a capitalist society was characterized by the split between two classes of individuals—the capitalist class, which owns the means for producing and distributing goods (the owners) and the working class, who sell their labour to the capitalist class in exchange for wages.

2. **Profit motive**

Companies exist to make a profit. The motive for all companies is to make and sell goods and services only for profits. Companies do not exist solely to satisfy people's needs. Even though some goods or services may satisfy needs, they will only be available if the people have the resources to pay for them.

3. **Minimal government intervention:**

Capitalist societies believe markets should be left alone to operate without government intervention. However, a completely government-free capitalist society exists in theory only.

4. **Competition**

True capitalism needs a competitive market. Without competition, monopolies exist and instead of the market setting the prices, the seller is the price-setter, which is against the conditions of capitalism.

5. **Willingness to change**

The last characteristic of capitalism is the ability to adapt and change. Technology has been a game-changer in every society and the willingness to allow change and adaptability of societies to improve inefficiencies within economic structures is a true characteristic.

Bottom Line

Capitalism in its purest form is a society in which the market sets prices for the sole purpose of profits and any inefficiency or intervention that reduces profit making will be eliminated by the market.

Capitalism and Gender

Feminist theorists today are increasingly returning to the insight that capitalism must constitute the critical frame for understanding contemporary forms of gender oppression. This issue was debated in the 1970s and 1980s by laying out three different theses on how capitalism and gender oppression are related: dual or triple systems theory, indifferent capitalism, and the unitary thesis. By assessing carefully the problems of the first two positions and concluding by defending the third, the unitary thesis: in capitalist societies, a patriarchal system that would be autonomous and distinct from capitalism no longer exists. Instead of treating gender and sexual

oppression as separate forms of domination, a unitary Marxist-feminist theory must incorporate them in the total framework of capitalist accumulation.

Similar to Marx himself, the gender oppression and racial oppression have become "an integral part of capitalist society through a long historical process that has dissolved preceding forms of social life." Theoretically, we have to understand capitalism not merely as an economic system or a distinct mode of production, but as a complex and articulated social order that essentially consists of relations of exploitation, domination, and alienation. Such an enlarged conception of capitalism allows us to recognize the irreplaceable role of social reproduction in it – the daily and intergenerational maintenance and reproduction of social life. From such an expanded theoretical perspective, patriarchal gender relations appear intrinsic, rather than merely contingent or instrumental for the way that social reproduction is organized in capitalist societies.

> Capitalism knows only one color: that color is green; all else is necessarily subservient to it, hence race, gender and ethnicity cannot be considered within it

Starting with the importance and the urgency of the topic, a critical analysis of contemporary capitalism is a pressing task for feminist theory today. The social reproduction forms an essential condition of possibility for contemporary capitalist economies. The problems that Marxist-feminists faced in trying to model gender oppression on class exploitation by theorizing patriarchy and capitalism as similar, yet distinct systems of oppression. While men clearly benefitted from a sexist division of labour, there was no "surplus" in the strictly Marxist sense that men were able to appropriate from women's unpaid work at home. Neither did women form a unified, trans-historical class with essentially the same interests; instead the intersections of class, gender, and racial oppression called for more specific and historically varied analyses.

Empirically, neoliberalism and globalization happened; theoretically, post-structuralism happened. Both of these changes mean that the terrain upon which the questions about capitalism and gender oppression have to be posed has radically changed, too. Hence, it may not be enough to find new answers to the old question of what is the "organizing principle" connecting patriarchy and capitalism. We may have to pose completely new questions.

Problems

The problem the early Marxist-feminist projects faced was economic reductionism. The motivation behind developing so-called dual systems theories was the realization that gender oppression was not merely an economic phenomenon, but something that traversed all aspects of social life. It was not only capitalists who were benefitting from gender oppression, but all men. Heidi Hartman noted sharply in her definitive essay: "Men have more to lose than their chains." In other words, if feminists were going to analyze women's subordination through the theoretical framework of capitalism, and to avoid economic reductionism, it seemed apparent that they had to either supplement the existing economic analyses of capitalism with their own analyses of other, complementary or intersecting forms of oppression, or they needed to adopt a broader, "non-economic" conception of capitalism.

The problem that unitary theories face, however, is that while they forge connections between seemingly fragmented and isolated phenomena, they do so at the cost of hiding contradictions, historical contingencies and singularities under generality. They inevitably risk solidifying diversity and theoretical specificity into a totality. The surplus-value extraction is a distinctive and defining feature of capitalism, trying to explain capitalism by this process alone would be "analogous to thinking that the explanation of the anatomy of the heart and its functions would suffice to explain the whole anatomy of the human body." Instead of only considering the heart, we have to understand capitalism as "a versatile, contradictory totality, continually in movement, with relations of exploitation and alienation that are constantly in a process of transformation.

Explaining Capitalism

Capitalism consists of varied and diffuse power relations: "power relations connected to gender, sexual orientation, race, nationality, and religion." Moreover, there is no unidirectional and overarching rationality that explains them all. Although all these power relations "are put in the service of the accumulation of capital and its reproduction," this often happens "in varying, unpredictable, and contradictory ways."

Once we insist that capitalism is, in fact, versatile, adaptable, and historically dynamic and that it contains contradictory tendencies, diffuse power relations and produces unpredictable effects, however, we seem to be rapidly emptying the notion out of its explanatory force. If everything is capitalism, then nothing is. In other words, if we give up the idea that the functioning of the heart can explain the functioning of the whole human body, then we seem to have given up the idea that we can find one "organizing principle" that explains gender oppression in capitalism. We can still grant that the economic logic of capitalism explains something, or even a great deal about gender oppression, but we nevertheless need a variety of other critical analyses that are linked with the analysis of class exploitation, and with each other, in complex and historically contingent ways. In other words, it seems to me that a radically historicized and complex version of the unitary theory, in fact, makes it more or less indistinguishable from a historicized version of the second thesis, which calls "indifferent capitalism" – the thesis that the relationship between capitalism and gender oppression is opportunistic and historically contingent.

Indifferent Capitalism

When discussing this second "indifferent capitalism" thesis if we switch back to a narrower, essentially economic understanding of capitalism as a distinct mode of production and highlight one of its key defining features: in capitalist modes of production, production aims at capitalist accumulation – the maximization of profits. All other normativities are subservient to this overriding goal. When we focus on its economic logic, capitalism now appears to have a merely contingent and opportunistic relationship to gender oppression. When women's subordination and gendered division of labour are beneficial for the goal of capitalist accumulation, capitalism works in tandem with mechanisms of gender oppression. In geographical locations and historical periods in which the reverse is true, however, it is completely conceivable that capitalism and feminism are, in fact, allies. In other words, there is no intrinsic or essential relationship between them. The feminists who argue that capitalism is good for women have readily appropriated this thesis: capitalism has no intrinsic ties to particular identities, inequalities, or extra-economic, political, or juridical differences.

Just because a thesis can be appropriated to defend capitalism does not mean that it is false, however, we have to carefully distinguish between logical and historical versions of this thesis and therefore between logical or metaphysical necessity on the one hand, and empirical or historical necessity, on the other. Even if we accept that capitalism, now understood as a distinct economic system of production, does not logically need gender inequality, historically things are not so simple.

Depending on the theoretical or political context in which it is deployed and the way it is defined there, we can do different things with it. In political economy, it denotes a distinctive mode of production, which can be identified through a list of key features – private property, the dominance of wage labour, the allocation of goods and services through markets and so on – and usefully distinguished from other types of economic systems. In much of critical social theory, on the other hand, it denotes something broader, usually framed in terms of a totality or a comprehensive social formation. The clear advantage of such a totalizing perspective is that it is capable of theoretically connecting seemingly disparate phenomena and, therefore, politically uniting people who are able to recognize that their individual problems are not merely local, psychological or accidental.

There are also costs and risks involved in such totalistic thinking. When capitalism is analyzed as a mega-structure or an all-encompassing explanatory background against which all other things are understood, we risk losing a clear theoretical focus and political aim. Not only do varied forms of gender oppression have historically contingent relationships to the distinct and contradictory economic logics characterizing contemporary capitalism – feminist political struggles do too.

GENDER ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT THEORIES MODERNIZATION THEORY AND GENDER DEVELOPMENT[3]

Modernization refers to the process in which society goes through industrialization urbanization and other social changes that completely transform the lives of individuals.

Historically, modernization is the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth and have then spread to other European countries and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the South American, Asian, and African continents. Modern or modernizing societies have developed from a great variety of different traditional, pre-modern societies. In Western Europe, they developed from feudal or absolutist states with strong urban centres, in Eastern Europe from more autocratic states and less urbanized societies. In the United States and the first Dominions (Canada, Australia, etc.) they have developed through processes of colonization and immigration, some of which were rooted in strong religious motivations and organized in groups of religious settlers, while others were based mostly on large-scale immigration oriented mostly to economic opportunity and greater equality of status.

Characteristics of Modernization

1. Application of technology and mechanization
2. Industrialization

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3 Retrieved From: https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/33643/1/MPRA_paper_33643.pdf

3. Urbanization
4. Rise in national and per capital income
5. Increase in literacy
6. Political participation
7. Development of mass-media techniques
8. Social mobility
9. Cultivation of national identity

Modernization does not necessarily mean that the people may discard all their traditional values or cultural and political heritage. For example, the British are traditionally conservative but still they have retained their old institutions like kingship and House of Lords.

Modernization and Gender

The theoretical approach to development — modernization theory — discuss very little about women. It recognized that in the transition from "tradition" to "modern" societies, some of the traditional values deemed necessary to modern society, were maintained by women in the family (such as affectivity). It was also believed that modernization would be emancipatory for women as industrialization, technology and modern values would undermine the patriarchy of traditional society giving women increased access to economic resources. In general, modernization theory emphasizes and approves of the trend towards Western capitalist modernity. It is argued that if modernization theory were followed in the Third World, Third World societies would catch up with the West.

> Modernization means Westernization
> (Camille Paglia)

Decade of Development

Modernization theory was subject to criticism from many quarters by the late 1960s. Women issues of development theory were also criticized from different quarters. Although since the start of 1960s, the UN has marked each official "decade of development" with a declaration summarizing the lessons learnt from past experience and its priorities for the coming ten years. The declaration that announced the First Development Decade (1961-1970) was devoid of any specific reference to women. Between the 1960s and 1970s, the feminist movements gained momentum and the research done by women scholars clearly pointed out that the so-called modernization theory of development promoted by the development agencies had not benefited the women and in some cases had adverse effect on the women in the Third World. Women had not been given access to new productive opportunities; technology had not liberated them from domestic drudgery; gender-neutral outcomes had not been led by market forces; in spite of the forces of modernization, prejudice and preconceptions about women persisted in society.

> Compulsive modernization is the insatiable desire to change and grow.
> Sumuel Wilson

About the impact of modernization of women by this time in the Third World, more generally, there was a growing perception of the failure of development. This perception was combined with the unhappiness of the first world women, and was influenced by the second

wave of feminism. These factors culminated into the emergence of the women in development movement which was inspired by liberal feminism. Remaining largely with the paradigm of liberal feminism, WID was, in part, a response to the inadequacies of the modernization approach. It was argued that the process of economic modernization marginalized women economically and socially and increased their dependence on men. Women were not benefiting from modernization and development because of a lack of proper access to a process, which was fundamentally a beneficial one. Development Project largely benefited men, often at the expense of women, displacing women from their traditional productive functions and diminishing the power, status and income they had previously enjoyed. Development planners ignored women's productive activities partly because national accounting ignored much of women's work within the household and subsistence economy, assuming them to be housewives, credit and other forms of assistance to men.

Welfare Approach to Women

The development projects where women were included was on sex-specific terms as housewives, mothers and at-risk producers characterized development projects as welfare approach to women and development, which identified women as a vulnerable group, needing help particularly in the reproductive role. These projects, which did cater for women often concentrate on improving women's domestic skill such as childcare and nutrition. Where projects addressed women's need to generate income were through schemes, which fitted in with dominant perception of women's role such as production of women's traditional handicrafts catering to insecure market, often for tourists or export. Women's development projects were often ghettoized leaving the majority to cater for men.

The failure of modernization to benefit women was attributed to a variety of factors reflecting this different cultural context. In female farming systems in the Third World, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, women had been deprived of access to training, land rights, education and technology by colonial and post-colonial administrators whose biased perceptions led them to favour male farmers. While women's own prejudices and preferences inhibited them from seeking employment in the modern sector in the market economics of the Third World, employers demonstrated a preference for men, creating a sex-stereotyped job hierarchy. By the modernization model, the modern economy being promoted by development planners had brought new resources and opportunities to men, but left women on the margin of development with the result that the productivity, attitude and outlook of men and women begin to diverge - men become familiar with modern equipment and learn to adapt themselves to modern ways of life, while women continue in the old ways.

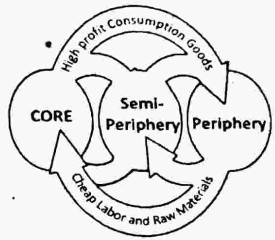
Colonial Concept

The concept that man is the bread-winner and woman is the home-maker is regarded as a Victorian/Colonial concept and did not apply to the women in Third World countries, where women played a crucial productive role in the subsistence economy and contributed significantly to GNP. It was Easter Boserups's study, which has been described as the fundamental text for the "UN Decade for the Women", with facts and figures pointed out the economic contribution of women. This led to the equity approach of WID, demanding equality for women in social economic and political spheres.

Some policy proposals emerged from the WID critics. The solution to equality was observed as widening access to factors such as tools, technology and education. Women had to be integrated into development more effectively and not allow it to pass them by. This has been characterized as an "equity approach". Starting from the assumption that economic development

strategies had often had a negative effect on women, the 'equity approach' acknowledged women's productive as well as reproductive role. It argued that women had to be brought into the development process through access to employment and the market place. Very importantly, this approach placed great emphasis on the wider question of equity and on the need to reduce inequality between men and women. However, the WID group worked to influence USAID (United States Agency for International Development) policy and as a result of their lobbying a congressional amendment mandated US assistance to move women into their national economies in 1973. WID approach was influential in determining the priorities for the UN Decade for Women (1975-85). In spite of its essentially liberal feminist and reformist bent, the 'equity approach' aroused hostility among development agencies and the Third World governments.

This is mainly because The Decade rhetoric of equity would have proved difficult to translate into policy, as it required a redistribution of resources throughout the development process. Focusing on all women, rather than a poor women only, calls for equity at all levels, both among programme beneficiaries and among programme implementers. Defining women's problems in terms of the family's basic needs rather than unequal access to resources made a WID policy more acceptable within male-dominated agencies. However the new focus on women was adapted with the official agencies of development by linking it to the emerging concern with poverty alleviation and basic needs. The poverty alleviation and basic need strategy was important for women, particularly, in the Third World countries for two issues; firstly, it retained a reassuring continuity with earlier welfare approaches, in that it focused on women's responsibility for family and child welfare by casting women in the role of managers of low-income households and providers of family's basic needs. Secondly, it also incorporated the WID concern with women's productive roles with the recognition that these responsibilities had an economic component and therefore required income-enhancing measures.



Wallerstein's World System Theory Model

WORLD SYSTEM THEORY AND GENDER

World Systems Theory, like dependency theory, suggests that wealthy countries benefit from other countries and exploit those countries' citizens. In contrast to dependency theory, however, this model recognizes the minimal benefits that are enjoyed by low status countries in the world system. The theory originated with sociologist Wallerstein who says, the modern nation state exists within a broad economic, political, and legal framework which he calls a "world system." Just as individual behaviour cannot be understood without reference the sociocultural system in which they are members, individual societies or nation states cannot be understood without reference to the world-system in which they are embedded. Modern nation states are all part of the world system of capitalism, and it is this world system that Wallerstein seeks to understand.

World systems theory, is an approach to world history and social change that suggests there is a world economic system in which some countries benefit while others are exploited. Just

like we cannot understand an individual's behaviour without reference to their surroundings, experiences, and culture, a nation's economic system cannot be understood without reference to the world system of which they are a part.

The main characteristics of this theory are:

- The world systems theory is established on a three-level hierarchy consisting of core, periphery, and semi-periphery areas.
- The core countries dominate and exploit the peripheral countries for labour and raw materials.
- The peripheral countries are dependent on core countries for capital.
- The semi-peripheral countries share characteristics of both core and peripheral countries.
- This theory emphasizes the social structure of global inequality.

WOMEN LABOUR AND GLOBALIZATION

The consequences of world economic integration are complex. In some places, gender and income inequities have been reduced. But it has probably done very little to reduce long-term gender inequities. Economic arguments on the effects of globalization on women fall into two broad groups: one intensely critical and the other basically optimistic, but with reservations and qualifications. From the critical point of view, economic globalization has largely negative consequences for women. It confines them to low pay, low status, often part-time jobs that reinforce their subordination and perpetuate the de-valorization of women's work in most societies. Demand among multinational firms for cheap, flexible labour has encouraged offshore production using low-paid women. The removal of barriers to transnational investment, far from empowering women, has brought them dismal jobs in offshore production sites where they are subject to sexual discrimination and harassment. Women, however, remain excluded from the more stable and higher-paying jobs in heavy industry. Furthermore, competition from foreign firms undercuts efforts to help women launch local "micro enterprises". Some women may benefit from new jobs, but their work is highly exploitative and features low wages, poor working conditions, suppression of trade unions, and little opportunity for security or advancement. In addition, the structural adjustment and market liberalization policies that have accompanied globalization are particularly damaging to women. They lead to cuts in public sector jobs that are often disproportionately held by women, they undercut social programmes that benefit women, and they inhibit labour organization by women. Further, in an increasingly volatile economic context, women are often the first to suffer in times of financial crisis. Evidence from the Asian financial crisis, show that women were more likely to lose their jobs than men. Another argument is that industrial development causes environmental damage that disproportionately degrades life for Third World Women. Women suffer the most from ecological problems because they are responsible for most family sustenance.

The alternative to the critical position is a qualified one that posits, on balance, economic advantages in the form of greater agency for women in an era of globalization. The primary advantage centres on enhanced prospects for non-household employment. Indeed, globalization, including greater openness to foreign direct investment (FDI) and "has led to a massive infusion of women into job markets" (Standing 1989). Especially in the lower income countries, foreign multinationals often make better paying jobs available to women. Saskia Sassen (1998),

recognizes the mixed impact of globalization for women's jobs: "On the one hand, they [women] are constituted as an invisible and disempowered class of workers . . . On the other hand, the access to wages and salaries (even if low), the growing feminization of the job supply, and the growing feminization of business opportunities . . . alter the gender hierarchies in which they [women] find themselves.

The gender consequences of the commercial expansion have maximum intensity in the manufacture industry. In fact, no developing country has increased its manufacturing exportation without resorting to a greater number of women workers. This is so because the export industry rests on flexible production systems that find an adequate labour offer from women willing to accept temporary working contracts part-time occupations and unstable working relations. These conditions are the base for low-cost production of global markets and are linked to a generated volatile global mobility of capital in search of greater profits. The trade expansion has been enabled by the changes in the gender relations originated by the incorporation of women to the labour market in inequity conditions and the character assumed by this incorporation is not independent from the deregulation of labour markets that have accompanied the global movement towards a liberal market economy.

The Feminization of the Labour Force

One of the characteristics of this whole process (opening and deregulation) is the feminization of the labour force. It's starting point in the analysis of that change, a time-series investigation from 1975 to 1994 of male and female participation rate where, the concept of feminization was introduced. This analysis states that in the majority of the countries, total workforce increases and at the same time there is a decrease of masculine participation rate in labour force, which suggests an important change in the gender labour system (which is known as "substitution hypothesis"). This time-series investigation also points out certain tendencies concerning the feminization: i) In industrialized countries, women at a grand scale get into the "formal" labour market, while in every developing and industrialized country, the rate of female unemployment decreases to a lesser level than that its masculine percentage, ii) Women occupy traditional male jobs and this could lead to a decrease of labour sexual segregation. iii) There is a progressive increase of "repetitive tasks" with little mobility, upon modern tasks that encourages occupational mobility and also increases precarious jobs due to the capital preference of a more "disposable" workforce.

Feminist investigators differ from Standing, pointing out that there is not an important decrease in the labour segregation or in the interpretation of the coincidence of the rate of female participation growth, with the growth of different forms of precarious jobs. Armstrong (1996) characterizes this coincidence as gendered "harmonizing down trend". The largest inclusion of women is linked to a growing pressure over their wages and on the feminization of new market segments which in turn deteriorates the wages of a certain percentage of masculine workforces (Berger, S 2001). In this meaning, Bakker (1996) tackles the simultaneous intensification and gender erosion of the job market and Fudge (1991) have defined feminization and flexibility as a dual process that implies the growth of female labour force participation and an increase of part-time, temporary, underpaid and insecure work forms.

Standing Hypothesis

Standing (1999) retook the concept of feminization of the labour force, incorporating parts of these critics by making less emphasis in the hypothesis of substitution and emphasizing on the "casualization" that is to say, the process by which more men and women are pushed towards

precarious jobs under very insecure situations. This new focus is similar to that of the feminists; however, Standing differs about the emphasis put upon discrimination and incorporation of women's low salary aspirations.

Other authors have strongly stated, on their behalf, that centralizing the explanation on discrimination and in the politics of equality as a remedy, supposes, that the stable relationship of labour norms is reachable by everyone; and, that it doesn't consider the organization of unpaid or "caring work" as well as paid work and to include the arrangements for the social reproduction of the labour force and not simply the organization of employment that means analyzing the effects of the relationship between production and reproduction, and not only the ways of women insertion in the labour market. Diaz and Todaro (2005) state that women need labour flexibility to satisfy domestic care but it is only available in more precarious jobs, in terms of stability, social security and of the distribution of working time.

Discrimination and International Trade

The wage gap appears, on one hand, as a consequence of the process of occupational gender segregation in tasks and in the occupations – the largest presence of women in worst paid jobs—which explains a proportion of the wage difference per sex, and on the other hand of discrimination, when it can't be explained by differences observed in the productivity (education and training) between men and women.

The neoclassic theory based on Becker's (1959) postulates shows that discrimination in the labour market of any group is not sustainable, in the long run, under competitive conditions. The existence of a group of men or women workers just the same as productive, but underpaid, are to attract firms which have no discrimination preferences and the demand of the expansion towards the "discriminated" group, will gradually eliminate the salary difference. Discrimination can only persist in the less competitive sectors. It is not of interest, then, the differences between countries nor the power relations.

Becker's theory has dynamical implications, if discrimination is expensive in the sense that firms exclude from hiring cheaper manual labour, the larger competence will reduce the incentives for the employers to apply discrimination. In the most concentrated sectors of the economy, the tendency to eliminate discrimination will be less pronounced. Within the parameters of a growing competence for the deregulation of the industry, or the inclusion of new enterprises, or the competition of cheaper imported products, it is to be expected that companies hire underpaid workers, which will, in turn, give way to a gradual increase of the demand from this "discriminated population" and a reduction of the wage gap. Globalization implies a great increase in the competition in the tradable sectors, even though they are highly concentrated in each country, and it should cause, henceforth, a substantial reduction of discrimination.

Feminist economists, however, start working from different methodological premises. From their point of view, the effects on the gender relations are observed in the segregation of tasks in the remunerated work, in the division of the remunerated and not—remunerated work in the income and resource distribution at home, in the access to credit in the financial market, in the access to education and social security. As a result of these asymmetric relations, women have more probability of being poor, of being less educated and of being over-occupied. These economists also explore the role that gender inequities produce in the international trade, as also how this reproduces and reconstructs the gender inequities. The emphasis is put on, then, in the complex relationships sometimes complementary and sometimes contradictory among different

types of inequities (on gender, class, and race and among countries). To sum it up, the matter of concern is the role that inequities play in the accumulation patterns.

Some experiences allow verifying the suitable points of view of either one. The growth of the Asian southeastern economies has been impressing. The growth rate of the per capita product in the region has more than tripled from that of Latin America and of the Middle East during the 80's. Many authors have pointed out that low women labour cost (in relation to that of men workers) may have contributed to the success of these economies decreasing labour costs of exportable goods.

DEPENDENCY THEORY

Dependency Theory developed in the late 1950s under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch. Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. Indeed, their studies suggested that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries. Such a possibility was not predicted by neoclassical theory, which had assumed that economic growth was beneficial to all (Pareto optimal) even if the benefits were not always equally shared.

Prebisch's initial explanation for the phenomenon was very straightforward: poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries who then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries. The "Value Added" by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than the primary products used to create those products. Therefore, poorer countries would never be earning enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports.

The debates among the liberal reformers (Prebisch), the Marxists (Andre Gunder Frank), and the world systems theorists (Wallerstein) was vigorous and intellectually quite challenging. There are still points of serious disagreements among the various strains of dependency theorists and it is a mistake to think that there is only one unified theory of dependency. Nonetheless, there are some core propositions which seem to underlie the analyses of most dependency theorists.

THE CENTRAL PROPOSITIONS OF DEPENDENCY THEORY

There are a number of propositions, all of which are contestable, which form the core of dependency theory. These propositions include:

1. *Underdevelopment* is a condition fundamentally different from *un-development*. The latter term simply refers to a condition in which resources are not being used. For example, the European colonists viewed the North American continent as an undeveloped area: the land was not actively cultivated on a scale consistent with its potential. Underdevelopment refers to a situation in which resources are being actively used, but used in a way which benefits dominant states and not the poorer states in which the resources are found.
2. The distinction between underdevelopment and un-development places the poorer countries of the world in a profoundly different historical context. These countries are not "behind" or "catching up" to the richer countries of the world. They are not poor

because they lagged behind the scientific transformations or the Enlightenment values of the European states. They are poor because they were coercively integrated into the European economic system only as producers of raw materials or to serve as repositories of cheap labour, and were denied the opportunity to market their resources in any way that competed with dominant states.

3. Dependency theory suggests that alternative uses of resources are preferable to the resource usage patterns imposed by dominant states. There is no clear definition of what these preferred patterns might be, but some criteria are invoked. For example, one of the dominant state practices most often criticized by dependency theorists is export agriculture. The criticism is that many poor economies experience rather high rates of malnutrition even though they produce great amounts of food for export. Many dependency theorists would argue that those agricultural lands should be used for domestic food production in order to reduce the rates of malnutrition.

4. The preceding proposition can be amplified: dependency theorists rely upon a belief that there exists a clear "national" economic interest which can, and should, be articulated for each country. In this respect, dependency theory actually shares a similar theoretical concern with realism. What distinguishes the dependency perspective is that its proponents believe that this national interest can only be satisfied by addressing the needs of the poor within a society, rather than through the satisfaction of corporate or governmental needs. Trying to determine what is "best" for the poor is a difficult analytical problem over the long run. Dependency theorists have not yet articulated an operational definition of the national economic interest.

5. The diversion of resources over time (and one must remember that dependent relationships have persisted since the European expansion beginning in the fifteenth century) is maintained not only by the power of dominant states, but also through the power of elites in the dependent states. Dependency theorists argue that these elites maintain a dependent relationship because their own private interests coincide with the interests of the dominant states. These elites are typically trained in the dominant states and share similar values and culture with the elites in dominant states. Thus, in a very real sense, a dependency relationship is a "voluntary" relationship. One need not argue that the elites in a dependent state are consciously betraying the interests of their poor; the elites sincerely believe that the key to economic development lies in following the prescriptions of liberal economic doctrine.

Dependency, Gender and Development[4]

Dependency theory and *Marxist-Feminists* would probably point out that many transnational corporations (TNCS) are not interested in helping developing countries. Rather, they simply exploit patriarchal values rather than promoting real equality. They do this through taking advantage of 'women's material subordination' – women put up with worse conditions than men because there is no better alternative other than to return to their roles as mothers and unpaid domestic labourers.

Women's proportion of global supply chain production workers discloses a range of 65% to 90% women in many global supply chains, most obviously the garment industry, and in some

[4] https://revisesociology.com/2017/04/08/dependency-theory-applied-to-gender-and-development/

countries it is much higher – in China, 75% of garment workers are women, in Bangladesh the figure is 85%, and it rises to 90% in Cambodia.

The charity War on Want argues that women workers in 'sweatshops' in Bangladesh are exploited by the corporations that employ them, although there is a view that this exploitation is gradually leading to greater emancipation for women.

From a Dependency perspective, increased participation in the workforce also implies increased hazards for women. Women's jobs outside the home tend to be the lowest earning, least secure, and most dangerous available in the economy, especially in periods of recession that plague most developing countries.

The dearth of labour laws, or ignorance and lack of enforcement of the labour codes in practice, allows for the exploitation of women. In Guatemala, women constitute 80 percent of the textile factory sector, and thousands of mostly indigenous women provide services as domestic servants. In both sectors, women have only a precarious claim on the rights to Guatemala's legally-mandated minimum wage, work-week length, leave time, health-care under the national social security system, and privacy protections. Often, they are subject to physical and/or sexual abuse, (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

Unfortunately, even the global nature of business does not confer universal rights for these women. Many US-based companies, such as Target, The Limited, Wal-Mart, GEAR for Sports, Liz Claiborne, and Lee Jeans, have contracts with Guatemalan factories and continue to honour them even if the factories break explicit company policy, such as physically examining women to determine if they are pregnant and denying healthcare to employees. According to Human Rights Watch, strengthening legal protection for women labourers and increasing their access to legal recourse might cement increased participation in the work as a positive development for women.

Structural Functionalism and Gender

Structural functionalism, or simply functionalism, is a framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.

Structural functionalists posit that gender roles arise from the need to establish a division of labour that will help maintain the smooth running of the family and concomitantly contribute to the stability of society. In this view, girls and boys are taught different approaches to life. Boys are taught instrumentality, that is, to be goal-oriented, to focus on tasks, and to be concerned for the relationship of the family to outside societal structures. Girls, on the other hand, are taught to be expressive, that is, to express their emotions and to look for and react to the emotions of others. In many ways, the functionalist perspective of gender equality is a product of its times, describing the realities of gender roles and inequalities of the 1950s, but not explaining them. However, the functionalist perspective is less useful for describing the realities of gender in the post-industrial age where many women work outside the home, men can stay at home with the children, and everyone helps with the housework. More research is needed in order to gain a better understanding of the role of gender in society today and how the changing requirements of the post-industrial age affect these roles and the stability they enforce on society.

Sex-Gender Overview

Gender inequality can be defined as the existence of disparities among individuals based solely on their gender rather than objective differences in skills, abilities, or other characteristics.

Gender inequality may be obvious (e.g., not receiving the same pay for the same job) or subtle (e.g., not being given the same subjective opportunities for advancement). Although there are US federal laws in place that prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex and that require equal pay for equal work regardless of one's gender, on average, men continue to be paid more money than women in the United States. Women are also often victims of gender stratification, or the hierarchical organization of a society in such a way that members of one gender have more access to wealth, prestige and power than do the members of the other gender.

However, gender inequality is not an issue confined to the United States or other developed countries: It occurs in societies and cultures around the world. Gender inequality is a matter of social justice and human rights wherever it occurs. However, in many developing countries, it is even more so as women are marginalized and thought of as second-class citizens. In fact, gender inequality is so important that it is included in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) developed by the United Nations. While it is known that gender inequality exists, why it exists is not completely understood. As a complex issue with many underlying determinants, there are a number of different perspectives on why it occurs. It is important to investigate these differing perspectives as each provides different suggestions for solving the gender inequality problem. The structural functionalist perspective is one such view that highlights some theories as to why gender inequality occurs; these are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Structural functionalists attempt to explain the nature of social order and the relationship between the various parts (structures) in society by examining the functionality of each to determine how it contributes to the stability of society as a whole. Although theorists using other perspectives argue that gender differentiation is bad for society in general, and women in particular, because it keeps women from reaching their potential and contributing fully to society, from the functionalist perspective, gender differentiation contributes to the stability of a society. Gender roles, in this view, arise from the need to establish a division of labour within the family. Because of their biological role in childbirth and breastfeeding, women in virtually every culture and society around the planet have the primary responsibility for child care. Similarly, men have traditionally had the responsibilities for hunting and waging war because of their relatively greater size and strength.

Socialization

Through the socialization process, these roles are taught to succeeding generations. Although, in modern times, there are other options for feeding an infant and many jobs require brain power more than muscle power, this differentiation between genders role has become ingrained to a great degree. Through socialization, individuals learn to differentiate between what the society regards as acceptable versus unacceptable behaviour and act in a manner that is appropriate for the needs of the society. The family (and, later, the larger society) begins teaching gender roles almost immediately after birth. For example, most infant girls are held more gently and treated more tenderly than infant boys are. As the child grows older, both mothers and fathers usually play more roughly with little boys than with little girls. As children, little boys are typically also allowed to roam a wider territory without permission than are little girls, and boys are typically expected to run errands earlier than girls.

Worldview

In addition, through the socialization process, boys and girls are frequently taught different worldviews. For example, sons are typically told that "real boys don't cry" and encouraged to control their softer emotions, while girls are taught not to fight and not to show anger or aggression. Functionalists refer to these different worldviews as instrumentality and expressiveness.

- Instrumentality is a worldview that includes an emphasis on tasks, a focus on long-term goals, and concern for the relationship between one's family and other social institutions. To teach this attitude, for example, boys may be taught to be goal-oriented by encouraging them to participate in team sports in which they compete and strive to win or to build models or other long-term projects where gratification is not immediate.
- Expressiveness, on the other hand, is a worldview that includes a concern for maintaining harmony and emotional affairs internal to the family. Girls are typically taught to be more emotion-oriented (as opposed to emotional) than boys. For example, girls are often taught how to express their emotions and to look for and react to the emotions of others.

The functionalist perspective of gender roles with its view of expressive females and instrumental males is based on the work of Parsons and Bales in traditional societies. Part of the concern of these theorists was that if both partners in a marriage worked outside the home, competition could arise and the marriage could be threatened. As a result, they did separate spheres for men and women as a way to preserve the institution of marriage, which they believed was not well supported in urban, industrialized societies. Further, this theory arose during a time in which theories of social stratification assumed that the status of a woman was determined by the status of her husband. Postmodern, post-industrial society no longer accepts this assumption as a given.

GENDER APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

Women in Development (WID)

The term "Gender" has extensively been used over the past few decades, the most important reason of this extensive use is feminism. Feminists' perspectives have labelled all gender relations as relations of subordination and inequality. Feminist researchers and academics have been trying to project unequal gender relations to make sure that gendered analysis are merged into all areas and into all approaches to development theory. The Third World states' development reveals that they have followed different alternatives of capitalist system, out of three main competing strategies of development i.e. socialist, capitalist or mixed one. World had been under the experimentation of many alternative strategies and policy options to achieve development throughout post WW-II/Cold War era.

A bird's eye view illustrates that modernization theory ruled after WWII, especially in the 50s and 60s. Whereas, theory of underdevelopment and dependency took the alternate place during the late 60s and 70s. But throughout the 1980s, Neo-liberalism, though not stringently a variant of development theory, has had a strong and wide impact on both development analysis and policy options. Though none of these paradigms deals overtly with gender issues yet they are all gendered. Numerous gendered perspectives to development mainly influenced by feminists and liberals have emerged, in chunk as critical assessments of these development frameworks in the Third World countries. Even though, they are time and again overlapping and

difficult to unscramble, in actual, they focus on the progress of WID, GAD and other gendered approaches and link them to the policy recommendations that emerge from them.

The role of women in socio-economic development was entirely overlooked till the 1970s. This obliviousness is not astounding since the areas of study within sociology, along with the study of international development, have principally been determined by hegemonic male benefits. Campaigner and feminist researchers criticized modernization theory as prejudiced due to the oversight of women and initiated exploring the correlation between international development and gender inequality. Boulding (1976) discussed that women have always been significant players in antiquity, but their foremost accomplishments were made imperceptible by their uneven seclusion within the domestic household. The primary development theory that incorporates gender was entitled 'Women in Development' (WID), which was an augmentation of the modernization approach. Boserup (1970) examined in her book, '*Women's Role in Economic Development*' as to how international economic development, by way of a gendered process, contrariwise affected women and men. She lamented that women had been departed everlastingly from the traditional development process and had not advantaged from development exertions that had targeted Latin America, Africa and Asia. She theorized that women's subordination and resultant exploitation in poor countries was the outcome of their elimination from waged labour, on the other hand gender was transforming from conventional to Post-conventionalism i.e. human rights and justice in wealthier states. She further suggested that women should be included in the economic development process in order to reap the full rewards of socio-economic development. Boserup supported Kuznets' (1955) 'curvilinear' relationship of development and inequality that the process of development and gender inequality was an 'inverted u-shaped' curve. In the preliminary stages of the economic development process, the gender disparity increases but later on it starts to decrease with the socio-economic developments.

Women in Development (WID) theorists argued that gender disparities were likely to diminish by way of a country developed because of surge in economic opportunities and stable economic competition. WID theorists likewise modernization theorists, too, believed that economic competition dispel, discernment. Competition was anticipated to dispel gender disparities in education, occupations, jobs, training, finance and general discernments. WID further argued in favour of women's access to education, jobs, capital and other rights to achieve gender equality.

Openness to trade, as a form of economic globalization, may have optimistic reimbursements for women to achieve equality. It is asserted that North American trade policies like, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), have fashioned long-lasting job opportunities for women (United Nations Development Fund for Women 2000). Openness to trade is system of economic development that has been found to increase revenues (Frankel & Romer,1999) and the countries using liberal trade strategies are also frequently those countries with high human development Index (as measured by the UN's human development indicator).

Diffusion of WID's amongst the development theorists and the economists gave birth to gender equality as a development goal in its own right and has been acknowledged in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), currently signed and endorsed by a majority of poor states. The WID framework was promptly acknowledged by many aid agencies and IOs including the USAID. In agreement with the WID perspective, women's inclusion into development policies was an unexploited reserve which can

put up economically to development. These international aid organizations have recognized that women's inclusion in the labour market or economic activity can assist in the socio-economic development of poor countries. Thus, women are not only seen by way of benefiting from the overall development process, but also states undergoing development would benefit from the insertion of women in socio-economic activity.

Women labour Force Increased

Number of women in poor countries entering the formal labour force has been increasing since the 1970s. Nevertheless, the vast majority of women who entered the formal workforce in poor countries were awarded low wages in uneven jobs, frequently in export-processing factories. There were a number of other factors responsible for women's entrance in workforce: rising education level of women, financial needs, domestic survival strategies and last but not least, the demand for comparatively cheap female labour for businesses and services. This growing contribution of women in low-income formal labour is often characterized as the 'feminization of poverty'. Denying Boserup's prediction, neither women's labour-force contribution nor advanced levels of education have entirely eradicated differences in position or income between women and men. Others have debated that women's receiving of relatively small salaries in export-oriented sectors is much better than not having access to any income. These academics see women's income as empowering women to be self-guaranteed, self-confident, and to get rid of familial supervision.

Women have been attaining an enlarged portion of numerous kinds of jobs, but this has not been escorted by a restructuring of domestic, household, and childcare duties. Women are accountable for what we named the roles of 'breeder-feeder-producer'. Boulding argued that women have had a three-way role of reproduction (breeding), taking care (feeding), and engaging in productive work (producing). Roles of breeder and feeder have been solely allocated to women in most of the societies. Boserup's idea of assimilating of women into the prevailing frameworks of development did not need a critique of this sex-based division of household work. Furthermore, she was not critical of the process of development itself and did not see it as innately problematic.

First and foremost criticism petitioned against the WID perspective has been that it does not encounter the patriarchal and hegemonic capitalist economic systems. WID theorists miscarried to recognize women's manipulation as chunk of the larger global system of wealth amassing. Secondly, WID thinkers did not interrogate *why* women had not fared as well as men, or discover the structure of women's subordination and coercion. WID only focused on how women could have better opportunity to participate and how they could be amalgamated into prevailing systems and plans. Thirdly, Most of the time, WID presumed that access to workforce would change women's destiny generally. But in numerous circumstances, women had not been given decision-making power. Consequently, as their income grows, they may still not have the authority to choose how and where to spend the income. The biggest reality that WID perspective ignored is that the influence of culture, norms, values, customary practices, class, race, and treatment women as a homogenous assemblage. Furthermore, these theorists were unable to distinguish that development affected women from privileged positions differently than poor women of ethnic or racial minority groups. Finally, WID is also criticized because of its top-down, structural methodology that overlooks women's agency. Some of these critiques have been influence by other theories of development, which are also critical of modernization theory.

Women and Development

By way of criticism on the WID perspective, a new academic framework called 'Gender and Development' (GAD) emerged in the 1980s. Gender and Development scholars focused on why women have tactfully been located in substandard or subordinate roles in development process. Furthermore, the community of GAD scholars began to enquire the real sense of development and the objectives of integrating women into the economic development process. GAD initiated to encounter the 'system' of development and its actual goals like dependency and world system. The desirability of every country to 'develop' in the same manner of US was questioned by some GAD theorists since the level of development in the United States was, arguably, not sustainable.

Impact of historic colonization on the present world economic system was recognized and criticized by GAD theorists. World system position of a country is not only the major determinant of a country's level of economic disparity, but also a clairvoyant of cross-national gender inequality. Ignoring the prolific role of women in development, the most core-sponsored developmental programmes have only paid particular attention to men as economic actors. Women are over and over again disadvantaged by the world system by way of their gender and position in the peripheral (Ward 1988). For instance, the peripheral country's women are underprivileged as compared to those of core one, but then again also in relation to peripheral men. The influx of the capitalist system and goods manufacturing has given rise to control of men that enabled them to dominate overvalued economic assets in the periphery countries. When changes were familiarized by outside powers for example war and expatriate officials, periphery's economic resources went under the control of men. Men's control over the circulation of these new economic means was due to patriarchal culture of periphery.

Contrasting the WID approaches, GAD showed reservations over present and past socio-economic and political organizations. The conjectural origins of GAD were traced from socialist-feminism, which connects the production-reproduction relations and the capitalistic designs to patriarchy. Patriarchy interacts with economic spheres through state policies and corporation globally to take maximum advantages of gender ideologies and norms.

Patriarchy and capitalism both are considered as promoting the variation/inequality that women have faced during development processes. For that reason, socialist-feminist academics claim that only economic changes cannot eradicate gender disparity since the patriarchal structure would still be there. As an alternative, a resolution to the matrix of development and disparity should deal both capitalism and patriarchy with the same approach. Research on development needs to encounter prevailing power relations between male and female in order to achieve women empowerment. The flaw of the GAD paradigm is that it is not certainly assimulated into contemporary development and aid programmes. GAD have need of an assurance from governments as well as global organizations to introduce hefty alterations to long-established organizations and institutions.

GAD thinkers have admitted that women can be affected in different ways by introducing a variety of policies contingent on their race, class, or ethnic position within poor countries in other words they incorporated intersectionality. Every so often, upper class men and women or leading races get advantages from policies that are detrimental for poor marginal men and women. As it discussed earlier that dependency or world system theorists refer this intra-country inequality has the variance between the 'core' of a country and the 'periphery' of a country.

Contrary to the WID theorists who framed women as a 'vulnerable' group and represented them as voiceless, submissive, marginalized and oblivious, GAD scholars have attempted to represent and consider women not only as sufferers but also as mediators in the course of development. Although women have repeatedly been framed as voiceless, submissive, marginalized, oblivious or victims yet they vigorously fight against manipulation by patriarchy and capitalism. Hence, the GAD paradigm identifies not only women's oppression but also their efforts against the exploitation. A decade ago researchers of different fields have initiated to reframe the matters of women's association to the global economy, the approach has shifted from gender disparity to women activism and women empowerment. Beijing Platform for Action, called for the women empowerment and not just for gender equality in 1995.

Scholars' View

Scholars have endeavoured to comprehend empirically the tangible effect of certain sorts of economic dependency on women, grounded on the theoretical ideas of the GAD, dependency or world system theories. Such as, Ward (1984) establishes that goods concentration has a negative influence on women's workforce contribution. As a result, countries focused on a smaller number of commodities i.e. export economies, have a habit of lower fraction of women contributing in the formal workforce. Using a United Nations' measure, Akhter (2006) established that the amount of classical dependency i.e. the magnitude of the export-economy, truly had a positive effect on women empowerment. The UN measure includes, first, economic participation and decision-making, Secondly, political participation and decision-making and thirdly, power over economic resources. His finding may be, to some extent, elucidated by the statement that the magnitude of the export economy is certainly related with the high proportion of women in the service sector of economy. Meyer (2003) in her cross-national research also found that the effects of economic globalization can be positive for women that lead them towards empowerment. She concluded that big export economies and highly goods concentrated countries had minor levels of work-related gender segregation. Denis (2003) in his research conducted in Barbados found that foreign investment, caused an age of high redundancy for women while besides having positive effects on females' professional opportunities.

In opposition, many other researchers found a positive relationship between women's status and foreign investments. Adler (1994) argues that TNCs and MNCs recruit more females for managerial posts because they understand the worth of hiring brilliant women in a very antagonistic global economy. Yu and Villarreal's (2007) study on Mexico found that the FDI does not lessen the women employment and women are more probable to be engaged in international firms but they are opposed by nationally possessed businesses. Furthermore, they also constituted that women working in internationally-owned companies were less likely to be exploited them in terms of pay. For example, they conclude that the global economic integration of Mexico has created employment opportunities for women. Richards and Gelleny (2007) acknowledged these findings in a context of cross-nationalism. They further explained that FDI enhanced women's status as measured by the UN measures of women's status: first, the gender empowerment measure and the 2nd one is the gender-related development index.

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES

Structural Adjustment Policies are economic policies as defined by World Bank (2001) which countries must follow in order to qualify for new World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans and help them make debt repayments on the older debts owed to commercial banks, governments and the World Bank. These policies amalgamate short-term counterpoising methods and longer-term adjustment procedures, particularly succeeding the oil price breakdown of 70s and the world downturn of the 80s, that were whichever practiced chronologically or concurrently or coming together on each other. Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) were categorized as:

- an emphasis on economic growth;
- tight fiscal policies reducing the public budget deficit;
- tight monetary policies reducing the money supply;
- wage and price policy to control inflation
- wide-ranging privatization and liberalization;
- charging for basic services;
- withdrawal of the state from production and marketing; and
- exchange rate policies to reduce the balance-of-payments deficits.

SAPs' elementary goals offered by aid-giving agencies were to assist the states in economic catastrophe by utilizing their own assets in a well-organized manner, to revive growth rates along with the policy options of the World Bank and the IMF and to restore the balance-of-payments equilibrium. Nonetheless, there was nothing new in this approach. In a similar fashion, without taking into consideration the societal and cultural environment and the impact on diverse segments of the population, the development strategies that have been unsuccessful in the past, SAPs were off the shelf, drafted in the north for those in the south. As a result, this 'one-size-fits-all' methodology, cold-hearted to the states' certain conditions, have been far away from being beneficial to the social wellbeing and economic situations of underdeveloped countries and their masses, as strappingly condemned all over the world.

International Financial Institutions (IFIs) have altered their development approaches to reshape macro-level strategies in the aim of decreasing poverty, in reaction to the global denunciation about the effects of SAP on humans, mainly with regards to poverty. A new policy was introduced in 1999 World Bank/IMF yearly conferences. Under the new strategy every country getting credits from these organizations had to formulate a 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper' (PRSP) which drafts each country's goals toward poverty elimination and articulates the strategies required to attain these goals.

There is a little difference in World Bank's and the IMF's macroeconomic models of SAPs and (Poverty Reduction Strategy Policy) PRSPs or I-PRSPs. The core objective of SAPs was to accelerate economic growth through liberalization and privatization, and now PRSPs and I-PRSPs are also working in the same fashion. The weak side of the old and the new strategies is that the overall emphasis of the macroeconomic policies is on attaining higher development proportions so that poverty can be abridged or eradicated supposedly through trickledown effects. Whereas, past three decades global practices had overruled this sort of policies by

showing that augmented growth rates did not support in elimination of poverty and hunger because of ineffectiveness of the 'trickle down' strategy.

Aforementioned models applied to integrate all derivatives of young economies of the world into single global economy to make the world a real interdependent place. Enabling underdeveloped countries to have a hand in this global competition and to attain sophisticated economic growth rates, the countries have to apply above market-based growth models which entail deregulation, tight monetary and fiscal policies, liberalization, and privatization. But the bitter reality is that the social impacts of the policy actions have seldom been taken into account in this pure macroeconomic agenda. Almost not any effort has been made to tie micro parts of the economies i.e. households, with the macro-economic agenda. The downside of these policy processes is the lives of human beings, who are affected indirectly or directly, have not been paid serious attention.

Men and women had not been taken separately into account by government planners and policymakers. On the contrary, there is mounting evidence that women had to bear an unequal music whenever there were economic catastrophes in the world. All of these researches approve that macro-economic elements i.e. structural adjustment, the debt crunch, economic slump, globalization and equilibrium strategies have imposed on the poor countries as well as people, extremely affecting women who work hardest but receive less, control less and even possess less. The economic catastrophes and reformation have generated supplementary pressures and obstacles for women in relation of living standards, livelihood resources and right to use of alternative labour or occupational chances.

The market based pro-growth models affect women through the following policy measures on which these models are based on:

Devaluation and Trade Liberalization

Devaluation and trade liberalization, combined with the removal of subsidies, is intended to alter production incentives and encourage producers to increase the production of tradables by shifting resources from non-tradable to tradables whose prices increase after policy reform. The extent to which resources can be shifted depends on the supply response of these resources. Is the supply response of women as producers, traders, labourers and farmers positive? Are they able to share the benefits of these measures proportionately? These are some of the fundamental questions related to women's share in development under today's development policies. Because empirically, where higher economic returns are involved, it tends to be men who take over new opportunities. Development in the agricultural sector, for instance, affects women particularly in the countries where they are heavily involved in this sector. These women are traditionally and socially concentrated in subsistence food-producing activities, which is the non-traded sector of agricultural production.

Women's role in Labour

The supply response of women farmers to shift from the non-traded to the traded sector, depends on their mobility within these sectors, access to cash-crop land, credit, market inputs such as fertilizer and seeds, and services such as irrigation and extension. In practice women are constrained to move from the non-traded to the traded sector because of the segregation of 'women's work' and 'men's work'. Men are considered to work for tradable sector such as cash crops, while women produce non-tradable to provide food for households. A greater increase in

the price of tradable increases the demand for women's labour and land for their husbands' cash crop, leaving less land and time for their own subsistence crops. In this way, many women are required to work more in their own fields as well as in their husbands' fields but are not encouraged to transfer their labour from one activity to another.

This presents yet another constraint on women to devote enough time to their own farms to produce some marketable product. Because of the constraints, women farmers cannot compete with male farmers which results in an increase in men's relative income and power within the household as well.

In labour surplus economies, the effects of trade liberalization together with devaluation may increase the labour-intensive exports. This provides more job opportunities for women since they are usually concentrated in the production of labour-intensive exports. For example, in Chile, following the substantial trade liberalization, firms laid off female workers first when business declined but they hired proportionately more female workers when business recovered. Job reallocation rates were also more than twice as high for female workers as for male workers. Evidence from Chile and Colombia also indicates that firms' demand for female blue-collar workers is more elastic than for male blue-collar workers over recent periods of trade liberalization.

The increasing demand for female labour in tradable manufacturing sectors in some parts of the world, such as Asia and the Caribbean, underlines the increased feminization of the labour force associated with SAPs which has worsened the distribution of income, pulling women into the labour force to supplement the family income. Trade adjustment policies have provided the opportunity for employers to seek out the cheapest labour to compete in the global market. This process has been made possible by substituting women for men and by converting many forms of work into jobs traditionally performed by men. On the other hand, the supply response of large female labour reserves, which were ready to work on low wages, has also played an important role in the feminization of labour. As a consequence, in the Philippines, for example, women make up 80 percent of the workforce in the Export Processing Zones. In Sri Lanka, the figure is around 85 percent. The cost of this process begins with the destruction of alternative remunerative jobs for the women, and for their male earning members in the households. This situation is followed by offering a new kind of 'women work' particularly for single, literate women, to earn higher wages than those offered elsewhere, but with long hours of stressful work.

Cut in Public Expenditures

Although the cut in real wages and the employment have affected both men and women, women's employment opportunities in some cases suffer the most while in others women find better off than men. For example, women's real wages fell by 15 percent during the period 1976 to 1984, while men's wages fell by just 11.4 percent. Similarly, in Sri Lanka and Taiwan, when employment of both men and women fell during the recession, the employment of women fell proportionately more. In addition, the rate of unemployment for women is usually higher than that for men. For instance, in 1984 unemployment in Jamaica reached 36.5 percent for women in 1984 as compared to 15.8 percent for men and in Barbados this was 15.1 percent for women and 13 percent for men in 1985. A sharp increase in unemployment among women was also found in Brazil and Chile. In many countries, for example Malaysia and the Philippines, the early spurt in women's employment declined in the 1980s with thousands of young women losing their jobs. On the other hand, in some countries, the female participation rate in the labour force has tended to rise during the recession/stabilization periods as women have tried to sustain their household

incomes. For instance in Equador, the female participation rate increased from 40 percent in 1978 to 52 percent in 1988, and in the Philippines, this rate rose from 60 to 64 percent during 1982-84. Rising participation rates were also noted in Jamaica, in Costa Rica, in Chile and Uruguay in the late 1970s and early 1980s. SAPs also played a very important role in increasing the female labour force in the Newly Industrialized Countries. On average, in developing countries, the female labour force has been growing twice as fast as male labour, particularly in export-oriented manufacturing sectors. But where an increase in female labour participation has been shown, it was concentrated in the informal sector. This employment in the informal sector grows as a proportion of total employment and reduces the average earnings of female labour.

Price Deregulation

(i) Increase in Food Price

Price deregulation policy affected women's quality of life by the following ways:

The removal of subsidies plays a very important role in increasing prices of consumer goods. It is evident from most of the countries, for which data is available, that food price indices rose significantly faster than the overall consumer price index during the adjustment period. The rise in food prices combined with a complete freeze or decline in wages, results in a sharp fall in real household income. The net effect of an increase in food price has been found in a fall in the level of nutrition as a result of substituting cheap sources of calories for expensive ones and a reduction of protein intakes for the whole household. Within the households, especially the poorest ones, the distribution of food and resources is often unequal. Female family members are most likely to be affected by a decline in food consumption because preference is given to male wage-earners. Since mothers are not able to buy enough food of the right type to feed the whole family, priority is given to adult males, especially in South Asian countries. UNICEF studies also reveal a widespread deterioration in the nutritional status of children and pregnant or lactating mothers in both rural and urban areas of the countries with IMF stabilization and World Bank structural adjustment programmes.

(ii) Reduction in or Imposition of Charges on Social Services

The deterioration in publicly-provided social services, especially health and education, is likely to hit women harder than men because household investment in women's and girls' education and nutrition appears to be more sensitive to policy-induced income shocks and price changes than similar investment in men and boys.

The main reason of this loss of the women's lives, as shown by different studies, is that when households have to spend money for medical care which is difficult to afford, it is more likely to be spent on the men and boys, than on women and girls. This is despite the fact that women need greater healthcare than other members of a family because of their heavy workload, on which the whole household depends. Reduction in public expenditure on education and an increase in the educational costs resulting from charging a fee, may have affected girls' education more adversely than boys'. This is because boys generally receive priority when a household is under financial crisis and a choice must be made to send either a girl or a boy to school.

(iii) Cuts in Public Expenditure and Women's Workload

Cut in public expenditures through cuts in social services provided by the state have also worsened the quality of life of women by increasing their workload. These services are assumed

to be accommodated by households by reshuffling their expenses and by providing some of them at home. But policymakers ignore the time spent on the strategies adopted by members of the households, particularly by women, to adapt to this increasing cost on their household budgets by earning income, and at the same time, by producing non-market goods and services at home. On that account, it is women's time and the intensification of their work, which allows many households to be able to maintain their consumption level and to cope with changing economic conditions. They have to take the responsibility for the allocation of limited resources, as a result of cutbacks in consumption subsidies and the existing basic services provided by the state, to ensure the survival of their households. Otherwise, women have to involve themselves in income-generating activities to supplement their household budgets. But women's participation in the labour market to support their household budgets does not mean any reduction in their domestic role because: '... whenever someone has to assume someone else's role, it is the women who automatically assume men's roles and not vice versa'. 'Instead, what has happened is the normalization of the double day; women with family responsibilities are assumed to be able, willing, and even obliged to take paid work'. But 'women's labour is not elastic...a breaking point may be reached when women's capacity to produce and maintain human resources may collapse'.

The above discussion raises the question of how successful can be any policy if that operates at the cost of longer and harder working days for women by stretching their labour both within the market and the household? Are policymakers waiting for the time when women's capacity to sustain an ever-increasing burden reaches its limit? Will this process of adjustment continue until the women are no longer able to work, or the household food security and welfare are at risk?

Efficient Utilization of Resources

The paradigm of development of a free market system where economic efficiency can be improved by competing market forces depends on the following assumptions:

- Perfect mobility of resources.
- Equal job opportunity for labour.

In the context of gender, are these assumptions applicable to female labour as one of the most important resources of economic development? To investigate the answer to this question, the following section analyses the above propositions one by one.

(i) Perfect Resource Mobility

Among the resources needed for the development of any economy, capital is the most mobile resource, domestically as well as internationally. Human resources, on the other hand, face many immigration controls to cross one boundary to another to take part in the global market. Among all human resources, women are in the worst position. In many countries, they are not allowed to move within the country from village to town or from one town to another. Social and cultural constraints are the origin of immobility among women [Palmer (1995)]. Even in the case of the highly-qualified and well-trained, this 'human capital' in many societies is wasted because of traditions. If there are no social and cultural restrictions on women's mobility, their domestic responsibilities in household reproductive activities do not allow them to move outside their homes, especially for a long time. Women who are willing to work and use their abilities on a competitive basis in the labour market are the victims of 'sectoral immobility' and 'occupational immobility'. This kind of immobility is because of the social norms about 'men's

work' and 'women's work', which exist in all societies, including the West, although differing in the rigidities and flexibilities of their norms.

(ii) Equal Job Opportunities

The second premise of the model of a perfectly competitive market is access to the job market without sex-discrimination, which enables labour to compete on equal terms for available jobs. But this model ignores the gender based segregation in the labour market which exists in all countries of the world and does not appear to decrease, even when women's possession of human capital approaches that of men. Therefore, it is the labour market segmentation by sex rather than the differences in human capital or their reproductive roles which put women at a disadvantage in competition for many jobs. In this way, the differences in earning are rooted in a consistent bias against women. Occupational segregation can be found in all sectors of economic activity. For example, manufacturing is commonly divided among 'feminized' industries where women are confined to a limited range of industries such as electronics, textile, garments, food processing, footwear, chemicals and rubber and plastic products. Within these industries, women have been given menial 'dead end' jobs that are ill-paid and repetitive in nature and have poor career prospects. Higher-paid and higher-skilled industries are dominated by men, where very few women are employed. Thus, women are severely under-represented in the high-level managerial and supervisory positions but over-represented in the lower end of the occupational ladder.

In the service sector, gender stereotyping of work continues to confine women's participation to 'female' activities in education, health, and social services, where teaching and nursing are seen as extensions of women's nurturing role into the public domain and thus tend to be devalued. While in the informal sector, women work as petty traders and domestic workers in the services sector which are the worst-paid jobs, normally due to the concentration of female labour in these two activities. Occupational segregation is also reinforced by the social, cultural, religious patterns of a society, and discriminatory demand for labour on the basis of gender, especially in the developing countries. Thus occupational segregation and women's lack of mobility suggest that the increasing size of female labour force has created an oversupply of female candidates for the limited female dominated occupations which ultimately has pressed their wages down. The above analysis explains that there are distortions in the labour market as women who are confined to unpaid family labour, do not have equal job opportunities because of gender and occupational segregation, and are unable to move freely between employers to produce the best return for the highest pay.

Two major critiques of SAPs have emerged in above discussion. The first emphasizes the social costs of adjustment and their gender dimensions; the second calls attention to its effectiveness in the long run: One of the initial critiques of SAPs was published by UNICEF. It included empirical studies documenting the harder and longer-than-expected social costs of adjustment and argued in favour of an "adjustment with a human face." Although it did not underline any specific gender bias, subsequent research showed the extent to which SAPs have not been gender-neutral. Feminist critiques emerged, pointing out ways in which the hardships of adjustment were unequally distributed, displaying not only a bias against specific groups of people —mostly a class bias — but also a gender bias. Empirical research has shown that gender biases are due to different reasons. First, given the division of labour and women's role in the household, austerity programmes and shrinking budgets intensify women's domestic and reproductive work. In this sense, greater efficiency and lower costs of production might, in

fact, represent a transfer of costs from the market to the sphere of the household. Second, budget cuts in essential services such as health, education and housing tend to affect, especially the poor and to increase women's responsibilities in family care. Third, lower real incomes force new household members to participate in the paid labour force — particularly women and the young, given their lower participation rates — often under the precarious conditions of the informal sector. Fourth, low wages in the export sector, particularly women's wages in labour—intensive industries, is a significant factor in keeping exports competitive.

Policies

All of this implies that macroeconomic policies are not neutral as normally assumed. As Diane Elson (1991) has argued, apparently neutral concepts such as productivity increases and resource-switching assume that human resources are free and can be transferable between different activities at no cost and that "households and people will not fall apart under the stress of the decisions that adjustment requires". To be sure, these critiques of SAPs have been subject to debate on the basis that they have been made from case studies that could not be generalized. In addition, the critiques are more conclusive for some countries and regions, such as Latin America, than for others. However, the accumulated evidence of many studies makes a strong case for the feminist critiques, which even skeptics have admitted.

The above literature review highlights the theoretical and empirical research related to economic dependency, inequality, and women's status. Literature on culture and women's status shows that Islamic and Latin American religious traditions negatively affect women's status. The economic dependency research on women's status has neglected the impact of political measures. The state can impact the status of women through government spending, through a democratic government, and guaranteeing women's rights. According to dependency theory, dependent relationships between poor and rich countries create inequality.

GLOBALIZATION AND GENDER

Ever since the advent of the term and concept of 'Globalization', the world has not been the same. 'Globalization' has been one of the most debated, most resisted and most blamed phenomenon all over the world, especially in developing countries. It gave birth to so many movements opposing its provisions and implementation. Globalization has been blamed for almost all social and economic ills prevailing in different societies, even though these ills were prevailing centuries ago too in those societies.

The irony is that the concept of globalization has been blamed for all those problems, which actually it tried to eradicate. The statistical figures would easily showcase the stupendous increase in world trade and GDP after opening of markets. Millions of new jobs have been created all over the world, new businesses set up, new investments made as a result of globalization policies. Even social progress indicators like enrolments in education, maternal and child mortality rates, average age, etc. have vastly improved over the past two decades. Participation of women workforce in economy and in other aspects of life has also improved.

Globalization and women needs

It is necessary to look at globalization in terms of its impact on the entire economy and society but with a perspective that is sensitive to women's needs and conditions because women

comprise about half the world's population. Gender has been increasingly acknowledged as a critical variable in analysis and development planning. Gender is an expression of power in social relationship between men and women. Gender as a power relation derives from institutional arrangements which provide men of a given social group, with greater capacity than women from that social group to mobilize institutional rules and resources to promote and defend their own interests. The analytic concept of gender is meant to challenge the essentialist and universal dictum that, "biology is destiny".

In every form of activity, be it agriculture or allied activities, domestication of animals, fishing, weaving, garment-making, women contribute substantially to the value addition of the final product and yet their work is perceived by all as subsidiary, unskilled and often as skill only of domestic value. A large number of these women are burdened with the double burden of work and are vulnerable to exploitation. Though not a homogeneous group by way of caste, class or economic activity, deprivation and discrimination connect workers from this sector. They suffer from lack of opportunity to work, low and discriminatory wages and exploitative conditions resulting in casualization. They lack social security, face occupational health hazards, and do not have access to new technologies, skills and knowledge.

Globalization and equality

The significant gender differences and disparities with respect to decision-making powers, participation, and returns for effort that prevail in different societies need to be taken into account when responding to the forces of globalization. Because of gender inequalities and discrimination in all parts of the world, women can be affected negatively by globalization processes to a greater extent than men. On the other hand, there can be significant gains for women with globalization. It is necessary to systematically monitor the gender impact of change so that the goals of gender equality and the expansion of human capabilities are not sacrificed. The relationship between globalization and gender equality, and the relevance of globalization for transforming gender relations has been increasingly well documented. The surveys are the major contribution towards applying a gender perspective to the analysis of the globalization. While the surveys focus on the labour market participation within the changing world of work, further research is needed to assess the impact of globalization on other aspects of life.

At the policy level, the impact of globalization on women and gender relations continues to be neglected nationally and internationally. Entities of the United Nations system are taking steps to integrate the goals of macro-economics with those of social development. Yet more remains to be done to integrate gender equality dimensions in their normative, policy and operational work so as to ensure the continuing leadership of the system in promoting gender equality, development and peace within the context of globalization. Five-year Review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Beijing + 5) held in the General Assembly, 5 - 9 June 2000 process provides an opportunity to reflect on the impact of globalization in determining further actions and initiatives for the full implementation of the Beijing commitments.

Aspects linked with Globalization and Gender

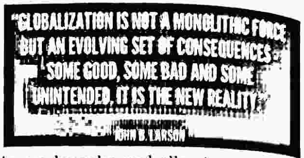
Several aspects are associated with global world:

- Gender inequality is more costly in an integrated world because it diminishes a country's ability to compete internationally — particularly if the country specializes in female-intensive goods and services.

- International peer pressure has also led more countries than ever to ratify treaties against discrimination.
- Growing media exposure and consumers' demands for better treatment of workers have pushed multinationals toward fairer wages and better working conditions for women.

Globalization: fluctuating gender Roles and Norms

- Increased access to information, primarily through television and the Internet, allows countries to learn about social mores in other places, which can change perceptions and promote the adoption of more egalitarian attitudes.



- Economic empowerment for women reinforces this process by promoting changes in gender roles and allowing women to influence time-allocation, shift relative power within the household and exercise agency more broadly.

Globalization has the potential to contribute to greater gender equality. However, in the absence of public policy, globalization alone cannot end gender inequality. Despite significant increases in agency and in access to economic opportunities for many women in many countries, large gender gaps remain in some areas. Public action is needed to close gender gaps in endowments, agency and access to economic opportunities. Only then will countries be able to capitalize on the potential of globalization as a force for greater gender equality.

Impact of Globalization on Gender

The following are the factors which determine the impact of gender on globalization:

(a) Globalization and the labour market
(b) Globalization and trade in services
(c) Globalization and governance
(d) Globalization and poverty
(e) Globalization and migration
(f) Globalization and technological change

(a) Globalization and the labour market

The extension of the market can have both positive and negative effects for women's situation and gender relations. Positive effects may include increased employment opportunities for women in non-traditional sectors, thus enabling them to earn and control income. This is potentially empowering and may contribute to enhancing women's capacity to negotiate their role and status within the household and society. Negative effects can include increased exploitation and dependency on direct engagement with the market, and particularly on the vagaries of the market.

In the past two decades, the relocation of labour-intensive industries from advanced market economies to middle-income developing economies has increased employment of women in the latter. Even though female employment remains concentrated mainly in low skill sectors and the

gender wage gap shows no signs of disappearing, the rapid increase in the female labour force participation rate has a considerable positive effect on women's economic wellbeing and that of their families. Nevertheless, the issue of the poor conditions under which many women enter the labour market needs to be consistently raised. The problem is particularly acute in sweatshops in the informal sector, which through arrangements such as sub-contracting and outsourcing became an integral part of the formal economy and have experienced an explosive growth in recent years.

In the developed countries, on the other hand, as industries relocate elsewhere in search of cheaper labour and production, labour demand has been shifting towards relatively high-skill manufacturing, while employment growth in traditionally low-skill sectors such as relatively low-skill sectors in textiles and apparel, where women workers predominate, has been declining.

The impact of these trends as observed in both developing and developed countries on gender relations is still not too clear. Evidence from around the world on women's labour market participation and gender inequalities (e.g. wage gap, power relations, etc.) is still mixed. Clearly, this is an area requiring further research.

(b) Globalization and trade in services

For many countries, trade could be the primary vehicle for realizing the benefits of globalization. Trade policies affect employment, production, distribution and consumption patterns, cultural values, social relations and the environment, all of which engage and affect women as well as men.

Increases in world trade, particularly in the services, has increased the involvement of women in the various occupations and professions of the services sector. Women around the world have made impressive inroads into professional services such as law, banking, accounting and computing; in tourism-related occupations; and in the information services, including offshore airline booking, mail order, credit cards, word-processing for publishers, telephone operators, and so on. The word trade in services also favours women's labour migration in contrast to the demand for male labour in manufacturing industries during earlier periods of industrialization in Europe and the United States. The ageing population in the developed countries and the corresponding decline in the state provision of welfare services indicate that the demand for female labour from the countries of the south as care giving will continue to be on the rise in the years to come.

(c) Globalization and governance

Integration of national economies into the global economy is increasingly shifting the formulation and implementation of policy away from local and national levels to the international level. Increased shift of governance to the international arena may undermine the modernist notion of citizenship, which, over the years, provided the women's movement with a strong ground for advancing their civil identity and claims for equal rights vis-à-vis the sovereign state. New actors above (global) and below (local) the national state are now asserting alternative identities and roles for women, thus fragmenting their political citizenship.

At the same time, however, globalization is generating an unprecedented understanding that economic and social rights are part of the international human rights discourse. Similarly, the growing force of international women's movement and their influence over the

intergovernmental processes are empowering women and creating space for women's organizations at the national and local levels to grow.

(d) Globalization and poverty

Surveys show that under conditions of globalization the limits on the state's ability to provide social protection, provisioning of needs and human capital investments have become more strained. This poses a major challenge to poverty-eradication programmes and the efforts to respond to the needs of the less visible segments of the population especially women and children, in responding to their right to basic services and development of their capabilities.

The withering away of the welfare state and increasing cost of social services has constituted a uniformly negative outcome for poor women, in developed and developing countries alike. The shift of societal costs of reproduction and maintenance of labour power and other welfare provisions from the public sector to a sphere where these costs are no longer visible, i.e. the household, is made possible by increasing women's workload within the household.

The shock of market fluctuations, yet another immediate impact of integration into global markets with intensifying effects on poverty, are also absorbed by poor women by working harder both inside and outside the household. In many instances, women combine home-making with reproductive activities in the household and rely more extensively on the use of children's labour for domestic work, household's production and cash earnings.

By and large, the adjustment costs associated with economic restructuring in many countries have increased the economic hardships for the poor. The human damage caused by economic deprivation in terms of one's capabilities and future prospects in life, is greatest for those who are least prepared to withstand it, i.e. poor women. In the long run, the impact of the shifting and adjustment costs onto society's most vulnerable groups results in *disinvestment* in human capabilities with far-reaching effects on society at large.

(e) Globalization and migration

Emerging global trends are also significantly altering the spatial and cross-border flows of labour. Globalization has created labour demand patterns which inherently favour short-term, temporary employment. As a result, a short-term contracted labour migration appears to be on the rise with distinct gender differentiated consequences. Women, whose labour has low opportunity cost in the market and who are socially considered to be flexible labour are entering into new labour engagements more so than ever before. While migration may improve women's life chances, migrant women in some parts of the world are increasingly falling victim to trafficking, including for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Due to the lack of effective international mechanisms that regulate and protect the rights of labour moving across national borders both legal and illegal migrants are vulnerable to human rights abuses.

(f) Globalization and technological change

Due to the expanding reach of new communication technologies the use of technology for the empowerment of women has been impressive. For example, many women worldwide are making effective use of the Internet and e-mail for development purposes such as networking, advocacy, dissemination and exchange of information, and creative e-commerce initiatives designed to help local artisans and producers market their products globally. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that millions of the world's poorest women and men still do not have access

to these facilities. Issues such as cost, locational bias, and time constraints pose impediments to the diffusion of these technologies. Mechanisms need to be developed to avoid new forms of exclusion and isolation.

Employment opportunities in information processing work – particularly in the services sector – have opened up novel opportunities in some developing countries, for women as well as men. Telematics-related distance work likewise represents new opportunities since it offers a wide range of modes of working, from home-based tele-working to employment in tele-centres or tele-cottages. These modes of working offer flexibility in location and hours of employment and thus can overcome some of the constraints facing women.

The underpinnings of the above discussion emphasizes the need to sustain the global gender agenda, that is well rooted in the four world conferences on women as well as all the global conferences of the 1990's, to balance the economic agenda of globalizing market forces for women in both developing as well as developed countries.

Globalization and Present Situation

The massive entry of women into the workforce around the world coincides with the political mobilization of women and the expansion of women's organizations of all types. The sentiments behind this growing force are well captured in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and in the Beijing Platform for Action. Safeguarding the gains made in the area of gender equality and further advancing in the full implementation of the Beijing commitments remain to be central to the goals of the gender agenda at national and international levels.

It must be borne in mind that *investment* in human capabilities enhances the growth potential of an economy, *disinvestment* lowers it. The *World Survey on the Role of Women in Development* argues that national economies must be capable of continually adjusting themselves to the changing conditions of the world economy in this regard before they can reap the economic benefits associated with globalization. The challenge for the Beijing +5 process and the agents of gender equality, development and peace at national and international levels, then, is to establish new alliances and develop new modalities towards building an inclusive global society where the twin goals of economic growth and the expansion of human capabilities, as contained in Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, are tackled in tandem.

CHAPTER 6

STATUS OF WOMEN IN PAKISTAN

"Women hold up half the sky."[1]

(Mao Zedong)

"No nation can rise to the heights of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live."

(Muhammad Ali Jinnah: Speech at Muslim University Union, Aligarh March 10, 1944)[2]

No struggle can ever succeed without women participating side by side with men.
(Muhammad Ali Jinnah)

Articles of the Constitution of Pakistan directly related to gender equality:[3]

Article 25. Equality of citizens (Constitution of Pakistan —

- All citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of law.
- There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex.
- Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children.

Article 34. Full participation of women in national life (Constitution of Pakistan —

- Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

Article 37. Promotion of social justice and eradication of social evils (Constitution of Pakistan— The State shall – (e) Make provision for securing just and humane conditions for work, ensuring that children and women are not employed in vocations unsuited to their age or sex, and for maternity benefits for women in employment;

Chinese proverb *"Women hold up half the sky"*, accurately demonstrates the 51% powerless, subjugated, defenceless, necessitous, and unlettered women are 'Holding up half of Pakistan'. Pakistan's gender subordination mosaic is crafted on regional, ethnic, religio-cultural, rural and

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1 https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/m/maozedong380326.html
2 http://pakistanlink.org/Commentary/2011/Aug11/12/01.HTM
3 Retrieved from http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf

urban divide along with uneven socioeconomic development and patriarchal capitalist social formations. Pakistani society is no different from any other parochial and male-obsessed country, where the dominant patriarchal setup and regime miscarriages seldom give a chance to aforementioned constitutional articles i.e. 25, 34, 37 for other half of human population to flourish and stand up for its own cause under the vision of the Father of the Nation.

Historically, constitutional rights, socio-economic and socio-political status of women of Pakistan are safeguarded by All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA): a non-profit, non-political welfare organization established in Feb. 1949 by Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan, the wife of Pakistan's first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. She initiated the first women's movement in Pakistan. APWA is the country's oldest NGO and the largest organization, of voluntary women workers. To make sure the participation of women in development, APWA has operated progressively under the framework of equality, peace and development. APWA's missions particularly promote, education health, training for children and women in both the rural and the urban areas. Volunteer social workers have established centres for adult education, health and family planning services, schools, handicraft shops, rural centres, and training courses. It has also observed women in the legal, social, cultural educational and economic spheres. APWA lobbied two chief developments in the progression of the Pakistani Women: first, the Family Laws Ordinance (1961), secondly, the enclosure of protections for women in the 1973 Constitution as mentioned in articles 25, 34, 37 and many others. To promote and observer social trends relating to women's rights a Women's Rights Committee has been established. APWA's work has concentrated on advocacy and active struggle to raise the status of women in recently years[4]. APWA has always believed in strong partnership with organizations, with similar goals. APWA has longstanding affiliations internationally: International Community for Women (ICW), Associated Country Women (ACW), International Alliance of Women (IAW), General Federation of Women's Club, US (GFWC), Pan Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association (PPSEAWA), National Council of Women (NCW), etc.[5]

> **Our father told us that our countrymen needed our help. So my sister and I moved to the Walton refugee camp and learnt how to treat the injured.**
>
> Kulsoom Rehman

Struggle for women's rights in Pakistan

A group of women lawyers instituted Pakistan Women Lawyers Association (PAWLA) in 1980 in Karachi. It was established for the women who were underprivileged and in need of legal help with no place to go to attain such kind of support during Zia's regime. The organizers of PAWLA also comprehended that laws discriminated against the women because women were not aware of their basic socio-economic and socio-political rights. The main objectives of PAWLA are: first, to work for human rights and

> **The surprise on Quaid-e-Azam's face was a sight to behold as we marched alongside him, swords in our hands, and escorted him to the stage.**
>
> Shaukat Ara

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4 retrieved from https://wiser.directory/organization/all-pakistan-womens-association-apwa/
5 All Pakistan Women's Association. Retrieved from http://apwapakistan.com/about_apwa/affiliations/

women's rights; secondly, to provide legal assistance to the destitute; and finally, to promote awareness together in men and women about women's rights. The major activities of PAWLA include to legally assist the women who need such sort of assistance. It organizes workshops and conferences and uses audio-videos as a medium to promote women's rights in Pakistan. It also defies laws which are prejudiced under Zia's Islamization period. PAWLA's work is systematized under three major projects: law reform, jail project or legal aid; radio project or legal awareness. Its publications include leaflets and educational materials such as drama stories, questions and answers, and audio-visuals, including a radio programme, mainly in Urdu.[6]

Along with the PAWLA, Women's Action Forum was made in 1981 to stimulate the execution of the Penal Code and to reinforce women's position in society generally. Two issues became dominant discourse in socio-legal reforms: first, the furtherance of women's political representation, secondly, the democratic civil rights. The second issue inflamed significant consideration during Zia's regime in 1977-88 when Federal Shariat Courts were established and the Zina Hudood Ordinance and the new Law of Evidence had been promulgated. Groups of women were formed in urban areas to safeguard their rights in contradiction to apparent discrimination under Zia's Islamization programme. Women particularly in urban areas succeeded to carve their place in the society regardless of the authoritarian atmosphere of the country. Decades long journey of equitable rights for women is still underway throughout the country.

STATUS OF WOMEN'S HEALTH IN PAKISTAN

"Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity."

(World Health Organization)

Health sector in Pakistan has been struggling for many years. Health delivery system is run by both state and non-state authorities. People living in urban areas have an easy access to best healthcare facilities whereas, in rural areas, accessibility to proper medical services is difficult. People either live far away from the clinics/hospitals or they don't have any such institutes in their areas.

Pakistan's population is around 194[7] million out of which more than 29.5%[8] people are living below the poverty line i.e. earning less than $2 a day. Around 78% of the population is paying for health expenditures out of their pockets which is manageable for upper or middle class but for the lower class, it's a different story. With the income of merely 5,000 to 6,000 rupees a month, they have to pay for the food, bills, transport and also for the fees if their children are studying. On top of that, if any of the family members gets sick, they are left with less or no money to treat them.[9]

[6] https://wiser.directory/organization/pakistan-women-lawyers-association-pawla/
[7] http://countrymeters.info/en/Pakistan#Population_clock
[8] https://www.adb.org/countries/pakistan/poverty
[9] https://www.adb.org/countries/pakistan/poverty

Pakistan at the Cross Roads for Health: Challenges

Basic Health Issues in Pakistan

- Health system has been designed developed and maintained by politicians rather than physicians/ Health professionals
- We have a poorly organized health structure. We need to clearly define the four tier health care system.
- Our health priorities are not properly defined.
- Lacking of experts in the field of primary health care.
- To spend more on secondary and tertiary care centers.
- Neglecting Primary and Preventive Health care system.
- High cost of Medicines and Procedures.
- Lack of Promotion of **Research in Medical Field**.
- Circulation of Fake Medicine.
- Lack of Health education in Community.

1. Despite several social, economic, political and cross border challenges compounded by successive natural catastrophes, the health indicators of Pakistan have shown improvement in the last 25 years; however it still lags behind some regional countries.
2. The average life expectancy has increased from 59 years by 1990 to 67 years by 2015. The last maternal mortality ratio recorded was 276 per 100,000 live births (2006-07)[10], but it has improved significantly in the past decade, owing to wide outreach of national LHW program, and better skilled birth attendance availability[11]. Similarly, infant and under 5 mortality rates have improved from 72/1000 to 66/1000 live births; but neonatal mortality rate has remained stagnant; and so has the rising toll of stillbirths 43/1000 live births[12].
3. Pakistan is facing a double *'burden of disease'* (BoD), the burden is higher in the poor, and many of these conditions can be controlled at relatively low cost interventions and best practices through primary and secondary care levels. ***Communicable diseases***, maternal health issues and under-nutrition dominate and constitute about half of the BoD[13]. In young children, diarrhoea and respiratory illness remain as the major killers. Maternal deaths due to preventable causes like sepsis, haemorrhage and hypertensive crises are common. Pakistan is one of the three remaining countries where Polio is still endemic. Moreover, Pakistan has an endemicity of hepatitis B and C in the general population with 7.6% affected individuals[14]; the 5th highest tuberculosis burden in the world, has focal geographical area of malaria endemicity, and an established HIV concentration among high risk groups. Other vaccine preventable diseases and new emerging infections call for strengthening disease surveillance and response system uniformly across the country.
4. **Health Access and Inequities:** Pakistan has seen progress in access to health care services; however, the gains are uneven across different service areas as out of pocket expenditure is still around 70% despite having network of (primary, secondary and tertiary) health care system in place. Though skilled birth attendance (SBA) has improved from 18% in late 1990s' to

[10] National Institute of Population Studies & Macro International. Pakistan Demographic & Health Survey 2006-7. Islamabad: 2008.
[11] Ministry of Finance. Economic Survey of Pakistan 2016-17. Government of Pakistan. Islamabad: 2016.
[12] National Institute of Population Studies & Macro International. Pakistan Demographic & Health Survey 2012-13. Islamabad: 2014.
[13] World Health Organization. Country Cooperation Strategy for WHO and Pakistan 2011–2017. Eastern Mediterranean Regional Office. Cairo: 2013.
[14] Qureshi H, Bile KM, Jooma R, Alam SE, Afridi HU. Prevalence of hepatitis B and C viral infections in Pakistan: findings of a national survey appealing for effective prevention and control measures. Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal 2010; 16 (Suppl): S15-S23.

58% in 2015, but only one third of women make the required minimum number of antenatal visits and the number decreases further for postnatal visits (2% after 1-2 days of delivery). Despite reduction in Polio cases due to high vertical accountability, the rates of routine immunization remain unacceptably low at 54%[15]. Access to and affordability of essential medicines is low[16]. Moreover, there are geographical disparities in coverage between provinces, districts and rural-urban area. Evidence shows that low income groups are likely to have lower levels of health, nutrition, immunization and family planning coverage[17].

5. Pakistan has a mixed-health system, which includes government infrastructure, para-statal health system, private sector, civil society and philanthropic contributors[18]. A major strength of government's health care system in Pakistan is an outreach primary health care, delivered at the community level by 100,000 Lady Health Workers (LHWs) and an increasing number of community midwives (CMWs), and other community based workers who have earned success and trust in the communities[19]. Complementary, alternative and traditional system of healing is also quite popular in Pakistan.

6. In 2015, only 102.3 billion have been invested out of Rs.3.945tr by the government on improvement of health sector. Following statistics have been drawn from *'Pakistan Economic Survey 2014-2015'*.
   - Total number of hospitals in the country equal to 1096. This means with a population of around 195.4[20] million, about 1.8 million people are dependent upon on a single hospital.
   - The number of doctors till the year 2015 totaled 167,759. The population and health facilities ratio is around 1,099 persons per doctor.
   - Per hospital bed, the ratio of patience is about 1,647 which is worse than last year ratio of 1,617.

Pakistan is spending 2 % of its GDP on health which is very low as health is very vital for the human existence. Health problems have increased dramatically in Pakistan with the passage of time. With the increase in poverty the health of the people has also decreased. Pakistan have more than 35% of children under five years of age, over 10% are under weight for their height, over half are anaemic and about 40% of women of childbearing age are anaemic. Underweight is not the only problem, overweight is also a problem as 10% adults are overweight or obese.[21]

Pakistan is suffering with both the infectious and the non-communicable diseases and women are more vulnerable than men. Pakistan needs urgently some policies to prevent from

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[15] National Institute of Population Studies & Macro International. Pakistan Demographic & Health Survey 2012-13. Islamabad: 2014.

[16] Rehman A, Shaikh BT, Ronis KA. Health care seeking patterns and out of pocket payments for children under five years of ageliving in urban slums, Islamabad. International Journal for Equity in Health 2014; 13:30.

[17] Hafeez M. Poverty and poor health in Pakistan: Exploring the effects of privatizing healthcare. Harvard International Review 35(4) Spring 2014.

[18] Shaikh BT. Health Care System in Pakistan. In: Himanshu Sekhar Rout (Ed.) Health Care Systems: A Global Survey. New Century Publications, New Delhi: 2011; pp. 434-454.

[19] Hafeez A, Mohamud BK, Shiekh MR, Shah SA, Jooma R. Lady health workers programme in Pakistan: challenges, achievements and the way forward. Journal of Pakistan Medical Association 2011; 61(3):210-5.

[20] http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_16/12_Population.pdf

[21] http://iriscommunications.com.pk/blog/health-conditions-in-pakistan/

these dangerous diseases which will lead to reduce disability caused by them. Efforts should be made for both infectious and non-communicable diseases as infectious play important role in the development of some non-communicable diseases. To address this health emergency, government of Pakistan has given National Health Vision 2016-25 under the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 on Education. The vision strategies are discussed as:

(i) Guiding Values of National Health Vision 2016-25

The National Health Vision strives to provide a responsive unified national direction to confront various health challenges, while ensuring adherence to Universal Health Coverage as its ultimate goal. The principle values include:

- Good governance
- Innovation and Transformation
- Equity and pro-poor approach
- Responsiveness
- Transparency and Accountability
- Integration and cross sectorial synergies

(ii) Objectives

The National Health Vision has adopted the following objectives in order to improve the health and well-being of the Pakistani society:

- To provide a unified vision to improve Health while ensuring provincial autonomy and diversity.
- Build coherence to Federal & Provincial efforts in consolidating the progress, learning from experiences and moving towards the universal health coverage.
- To facilitate synchronization for commonality across international reporting and international treaties.
- To facilitate coordination for regulation, information collection, surveillance, and research for improved health systems.
- To provide a foundational basis for charting and implementing SDGs, in partnership with other sectors.

(iii) Strategic Vision

- Government is cognizant that adequate, responsive and efficient health financing is the cornerstone of a country's well-functioning health systems. The spending on health will be advocated as *"investment"* with the line ministries, finance departments and international development partners.
- Federal and Provincial governments will increase allocation to health as pledged in Pakistan vision 2025 to 3% of GDP, to maximize the pay-offs from investing in health.
- Priorities for health allocations will be revisited, and a higher share for essential health service delivery, preventive programs, communication, capacity building of frontline health workers, and governance will be ensured.

- Pro-poor social protection initiatives (including the recent national health insurance scheme) will continue to be financed and new initiatives will be launched, facilitating access to essential primary, secondary health services and priority diseases.
- There will be a progressive movement towards universal health coverage. RMNCAH and nutrition investments will be increased in a phased manner.
- Governments will develop mechanism to build capacity for implementing fiscal discipline, revisit formulae for district allocations to maintain parity, and grant financial autonomy to health institutions.
- Federal and provincial governments will develop joint strategies aimed to enhance resource mobilization for health from official development assistance (ODA)/International development partners, private sectors' engagement, and through taxes.

Cross-Sectoral Linkages

(a) Challenges

- There is growing awareness amongst public health professionals that their universe is impacted by the political, socio economic and developmental milieu in which they operate.
- Factors such as illiteracy, unemployment, gender-inequality, food insecurity, rapid urbanization, environmental degradation, natural disasters and the lack of access to safe water and sanitation all have the potential to aggravate the state of health of individuals and communities.
- A large number of preventable deaths and disabilities among children, pregnant/lactating women, young adults and aging population can be averted but action lies beyond the scope of and mandate of health sector.

(b) Strategic Vision

- There will be a renewed and synergistic focus on cross-sectoral action for advancing health, with a particular focus on communicable and non-communicable disease including mental health and under-nutrition. The concept of *"One Health"* and *"Health in all policies"* will be promoted.
- Government will be striving to develop a common vision, framework and a platform with multiple stakeholders from across the sectors to work for health, for instance education, food security, agriculture and livestock, housing, sanitation, water, environment, IT, local government, social protection etc.
- In order to gear up its efforts towards Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), government will embark upon advocacy, planning, legislation, regulation, behavioural-change-communication, information exchange, and evidence based decision through joint efforts of different sectors.
- Efforts will be geared towards recognition of community involvement, women empowerment, and local/rural development being the key channels for cross-sectoral action, and health will be an inclusive partner.

Concluding the whole discussion, women's health issues in Pakistan take a backseat among other cultural and social responsibilities that they undertake. Women's mortality rates during pregnancy are among the highest in the world, and with poverty and one of the worst rankings

in the world for gender empowerment, there is currently very little being done to alleviate the problem. But vision report 2016-25 gives a ripple of hope to address the serious disparities in women health and overall health issues in the country.

STATUS OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم

"Seeking knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim."

(Sunan-Ibn-Majah 224)

"You educate a man, you educate a man. You educate a woman, you educate a generation"

(Brigham Hill)

Article 26(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNO, 1948: 5) states that "Education shall be free at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. ... Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit."[22]

The Pakistan Educational Conference, 1947[23]

The Pakistan Educational Conference, 1947 made a special committee on women's education. The terms of reference for the women's education committee included:

- Suggesting means for surveying the facilities for women's education in Pakistan;
- chalking out a programme for women's education at all stages with the syllabus of studies suited to the needs of the country;
- Suggesting a programme of adult education with special provision for *purdah* observing ladies;
- considering the desirability of having separate women's educational institutions afte the primary stage;
- suggesting ways and means for popularizing vocational education among women;
- Considering the arrangements for the training of women teachers for pre-primary anc nursery schools.

Some of the major proposals of the conference dealing with female education included surveys by the education departments of the provinces in Pakistan and collection of all factual statistical information about the facilities available for various grades of women's education in their respective provinces. The conference also proposed that:

- primary schools could be co-educational or otherwise according to local needs;
- there should be separate schools for girls at the secondary stage and domestic-science and home-nursing should be introduced as compulsory subjects in the curriculum;
- more educational facilities in the form of scholarships;

22 https://www.dawn.com/news/1281982
23 https://www.dawn.com/news/1281982

- properly equipped boarding houses and conveyance for female students;
- liberal stipends and scholarships for girls desiring to take up courses in subjects like nursing, commerce, radio engineering, etc. (GoP, 1947: 1516).

The Conference also proposed efforts to enlist the active help and cooperation of the public, especially of industrialists, businessmen, and *zamindars*, in establishing adult literacy centres for women both in towns as well as in the rural areas; they were to be persuaded to earmark a certain percentage of their profits towards the establishment and maintenance of such centres for their women employees and tenants. Furthermore, first-aid, home-nursing and hygiene were to be made compulsory in the higher stages of secondary education; 50 per cent spending was allotted for adult literacy centres for women; women would be encouraged to receive vocational training, a sufficient number of first-rate Teachers Training Institutes for Women would be established to impart special training in the teaching of nursery and primary classes; all the nursery and pre-primary schools were to be staffed entirely with properly trained female teachers; *Industrial Homes'* were to be established where women could receive training in various types of vocations to enable them to earn their livelihood; appointment of female experts were to be made on the Joint Committee to draw up the syllabi for secondary, high school, and university education; universities were to consider starting a University Nursing Training Corps and a University Officers Corps for Women.

The Commission on National Education, 1959[24]

The Commission on National Education (GoP, 1959: 189), acknowledged the importance of women's education by suggesting that, 'Unless a mother is educated, there will never be an educated home or an educated community.' The commission (GoP, 1959: 189) emphasized the equality of implications of its proposals by suggesting that:

> *...women need education just as Pakistan needs educated women, and it is the purpose and nature of this education that concerns us here. It should be clearly understood that the reform and expansion of education at all levels dealt with in other chapters of this report have been proposed with the needs of both boys and girls, men and women in mind.*

The recommendations of the 1959 commission (GoP, 1959: 195) included the provision of equal facilities in terms of quantity and quality for the education of boys and girls. Female teachers for girls and boys for the first three classes and for exclusive subjects at the secondary school level, introduction of subjects of particular interest to girls such as elementary home craft, tailoring, weaving, cookery, and child care; girls should be guided either into secondary schools or into vocational schools after class eight; offering courses suited to their aptitude and interests; special courses for girls dealing with secretarial work, the operation of telecommunication and electronic equipment, and the driving of light and heavy vehicles in the technical and vocational domain, diversion courses in commercial subjects such as typing, stenography and bookkeeping, food technology including dietetics, catering and canteen management; textile design and interior decoration at high school level; introduction of a home economics departments in colleges for girls at the higher education level; special provision for the training of women in secretarial work and office management and in the fields of bookkeeping, accountancy, and commercial banking, along with courses in nursing and fine arts in commercial colleges; clean and comfortable accommodation for girls living in a boarding house with provision of wholesome food;

[24] https://www.dawn.com/news/1281982

university student participation in an organized national programme which, in the case of girls, would involve nursing or adult education or training in civil or military defence.

The proposal for a new educational policy, 1969

The 1969 policy (GoP, 1969: 42) at the outset acknowledged the significant role of women's education by stating that,

> *"It is from his mother, more than from anyone else, that a child acquires his values for life. To have a nation of educated mothers could itself be considered a worthwhile aim of an education policy."*

The policy lamented the fact that at the primary level girls' enrolment was not more than 20% and at a higher level this percentage was even lower. The policy held economic and social factors responsible for the low school enrolment of girls. Most parents consider that a girl's education is not a good investment and similarly for social reasons would not send their daughters to schools where they are taught by male teachers alongside male students. According to the policy, the aims of the proposed policy would be difficult to achieve unless a breakthrough was made in women's education.

Barriers in female education in Pakistan

- The over all literacy ratio is 46% in Pakistan.
- Female literacy ratio in Pakistan is 26%.
- Alarming Situation In Rural Areas
  One of the deplorable aspect is that in some places, particularly northern tribal areas, the education of girls is strictly prohibited. the female literacy rate there stands between 3% and 8%.

The policy proposed free education of girls up to class eight in order to deal with the economic restraints of the parents. As for the social restraints, the policy proposed that separate school buildings should be made for girls. Also the number of female teachers should be increased by giving them certain incentives like free transportation, housing assistance, and special pay for difficult assignments.

Current Situation

Unfortunately, from 1969 to today, Pakistan have had a dozen of education policies and five year plans but the challenges are still plaguing school-age children, particularly for girls' education. These challenges include poverty and long-standing traditions. Many schools suffer from low attendance rates and a lack of suitable teachers. Poverty creates a large barrier to girls' education, as many families value the additional income provided by a working child over sending their kids to school. Many young girls in Pakistan are hired for domestic help. In addition, families with multiple children are more likely to prioritize the education of sons over daughters.

In some Northern tribal areas of the country, cultural beliefs prohibit girls' education. The well-known activist Malala Yousafzai is from this region and was viciously attacked by the Taliban for promoting girls' education. Pakistan has some of the worst education conditions in the world and ranks second highest for out-of-school children, most of whom are girls. The country also ranks third in adult illiteracy, with over two-thirds of the illiterate population being female. Only 68% of 15-23 year-old girls can read and write, compared with 83% of boys the same age.[25] In 2014, around 11.1 million children of primary and lower secondary age were not in school.[26] 48% of the poorest girls aged 5-16 are enrolled in school, compared to 68% of the poorest

[25] UIS.Stat, 2016, UNESCO Institute for Statistics,http://data.uis.unesco.org/?ReportId=184&IF_Language=eng
[26] UIS.Stat, 2016, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, http://data.uis.unesco.org/?ReportId=184&IF_Language=eng

boys the same age.[27] Only 1 in 10 Girls make up just 42% of secondary school students, and only one in 10 will complete their secondary education.[28] Uneducated men and women may have a harder time finding work and will almost assuredly earn less than their literate counterparts.

A mere 54 percent of school-age girls were enrolled in primary school as of 2013, with enrollment numbers dropping sharply to 30 percent for secondary school. These rates are often even lower in more rural areas of the country. Multiple organizations have taken note of the dire circumstances in Pakistan including the USAID and the Malala Fund spearheaded by Yousafzai.

USAID Pakistan, with the assistance of other donors, has increasingly supported education in Pakistan. The organization works to strengthen math and science skills, renovate and rebuild schools and train local teachers. The programs also aim to harmonize Pakistani tradition and religious beliefs with the value of education. USAID funding and assistance is a major step toward improvement. USAID focuses specifically on girls' education in order to rectify the gender-related discrepancies mentioned earlier.[29] In spite of above mentioned problems for women education, there are number of other issues which need serious consideration.

(a) Problems of Access to Education

Inaccessibility of primary education is a result of child labour, male preference, scarcity of teachers, local leaders' fear of losing power and frequent policy changes. The problem of access applies to both girls and boys; however it is more serious for girls. Girls' schools are far away from their homes in many rural areas. One reason is the girls are culturally supposed to stay close to home and they cannot travel alone in our society freely, secondly, many families cannot afford traveling expenses for their children. Those who can afford transport it is often not available in rural and backward areas. Moreover, teachers that do not belong to the same community are sometimes unable to attend school daily because of above-mentioned problems.

(b) Problems of Separate Schools

In our society, co-education is not accepted even at primary level. Family and parents don't allow their girls to study in co-education schools due to cultural and religious boudries. The government often failed to take measures to provide separate schools and classrooms for girls.

(c) Poverty

Poverty stricken children often do not attend school because they are working to support their families for their survival. Millions of children under the age of 14 are labourers at brick kilns, the carpet weaving industry, agriculture, small industries and domestic services across Pakistan.

(d) Patriarchal-culture

Parents favour the education of their sons over that of their daughters. Whenever there is a trade-off between boys and girls for sending school; parents prefer to spend on boys' education as they are supposed to be the future earning hands of their families. Typically, education of a boy is desirable even for the most disadvantaged people and those who live beyond the

[27] Annual Status of Education Report (ASER), 2015, ASER-Pakistan National Report, http://aserpakistan.org/document/aser/2015/reports/national/ASER_National_Report_2015.pdf
[28] (www.education-inequalities.org).
[29] https://borgenproject.org/girls-education-pakistan/

designated settled areas. However, education of a girl is not necessarily desirable because any investment made would not bear fruit for their family since girls leave to live with the family of their husband. So, this patriarchal approach neglects girls' education.

(e) Terrorism

Northern areas of Pakistan, particularly in the KPK militant group have blasted thousands of schools, especially girl schools. Extremist groups are against girls and women education as well as they have given threats and threatening letters to several Governments and private girl schools for stopping girl education. Women are not allowed to step out of their houses in these areas. In short, women, which are 51 percent on the country's population, have been forced to just bear children for their husbands and remain within their houses for cooking and clearing.

(f) Fear of losing power

Local landlords oppose girls' education out of fear of losing power. Whenever the Government and non-government take steps to open formal and informal schools in rural and backward areas where they rule, the landlords oppose such measures, apparently out of fear that people who become literate will cease to follow them with blind faith. In this condition unfortunately, the government has not so far taken any steps to promote literacy or girl's education in these areas. It is even reluctant to help NGOs or other small political or religious parties do the job, because in order to maintain control, it needs the support of these landlords and chieftains who, as members of the political parties, are regularly elected to the national assembly.

(g) Frequent changes in ed ucation policies

Our governments have announced different plans and policies to promote literacy, especially among women, as Governments have announced various programs to achieve its educational objectives but they have been unable to translate their words into action because of various social, cultural, economic and political obstacles.

The major cause of this unfair treatment with the females regarding their education in Pakistan, especially in rural and tribal areas is due to the conservative thinking. Such people consider women's education to be superfluous and pointless and are against the rules and ordinances of Islam. This thinking must be reviewed so that the faults should be eliminated. Thus, the females which are kept out from the education should be given equal rights so that they can make them civilized and should later contribute to the empowerment of the national economy.[30]

By summing up the discussion, it is necessary to discuss that every child should receive 12 years of free education. Pakistan's Right to Education Act guarantees every child age five to 16 the right to free and compulsory education. But the Act does not cover the final two years of secondary education girls need to thrive – and build a better future for their families, communities and country. Pakistan's education system is critically under-resourced; the government is failing to meet financial commitments promised in the Right to Education Act.

Pakistan's Government has endorsed the new Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 on education to ensure all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and

[30] http://talib.pk/article/problems-female-education-pakistan

secondary education by 2030. However, the education budget was short of $565 million USD in order to be able to provide 12 years of education for all children in Pakistan in 2015.[31]

The Pakistan Coalition for Education and Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi are advocating for the following policy changes and funding increases to meet SDG 4:

- The federal government should develop and publish a plan to meet their commitment of paying an additional 1% GDP per year for education in 2016 and reaching a minimum of 4% GDP by 2018, and commit to publish an annual report of progress against this plan.
- Efficiently utilize the allocated education budget to cover both lower and higher secondary education as part of the Right to Education Act that will ensure a 12 year cycle of education for all children.

If Pakistan give 12 years education to females, the outcome would include

- Increasing the number of women completing secondary education by just 1% could increase Pakistan's economic growth by 0.3%.[32]
- Working women in Pakistan with a high level of literacy skills can earn 95% more than women with weak or no literacy skills.[33]
- Only 30% of Pakistani women with no education believe they can have a say over the number of children they have, compared to 52% among women with primary education and 63% with lower secondary education.[34]

WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

Pakistan's consistency in being ranked the second last country in the Global Gender Gap Index owes to one undeniable factor: we have the world's second worst economic participation and opportunities for women. At a mere 22pc in 2015, we have the lowest female labour force participation rate in South Asia. This, however, requires that we first understand why there are so few well-educated women in Pakistan's labour market.

Women face much discrimination in the labour market. The latest Mahbub-ul-Haq Human Development Report on women in Pakistan observes that women are over-represented in work that is often hazardous. Additionally, women on average earn 38.6pc[35] less than men, with the pay gap persisting even if both sexes have the same level of education and are doing the same work. This gendered differential is likely driven by employers' bias rather than productivity differences.

Along with occupying low-paying jobs, women are typically less mobile in their respective professions. Harassment at the workplace and a social context in which women remain secondary workers irrespective of the nature of their occupation and earning capacity serve as disincentives to work.

[31] UNESCO GEMR, 2015. Pricing the right to education: The cost of reaching new targets by 2030. http://en.unesco.org/gem-report/node/819#sthash.7nhMobxj.dpbs

[32] UIS.Stat, 2016, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, http://data.uis.unesco.org/?ReportId=184&IF_Language=

[33] Education transforms lives, 2013, Education for All Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002231/223115E.pdf

[34] World Inequality Database on Education (WIDE), 2015, Global Education Monitoring Report, UNESCO. http://www.education-inequalities.org/countries/pakistan#?dimension=all&group=all&year=latest

[35] https://www.dawn.com/news/1310070

For highly educated women, these sticky floors and glass ceilings raise the opportunity cost of employment, especially given that working women still spend long hours engaged in housework and childcare. Such constraints of time, a stagnant career trajectory and hostile work environment may see more educated women—who may not have the same economic imperative to work as those who cannot afford further education — simply opt out of the labour market. Let's take a bird eye-view of economic survey of Pakistan 2015-16.

Labour Force Participation Rate

The labour force participation rate indicates the supply of labour in the economy and the proportion of people in the labour force of the country. It also shows the working capacity of labours and job market trends. Indicator is helpful in assessing the labour market behaviour for different segments of population, especially for youth. In Pakistan labour force participation rate is estimated on the basis of Crude Activity Rate (CAR) and the Refined Activity Rate (RAR). Female labour force participation rate increased from 15.6 percent in 2012-13 to 15.8 percent in 2014. Women in the workforce can be a major driver of the economic growth. This increasing participation of women in paid work shows the sincere and committed efforts by the government to reduce the gender gap in labour force participation rate. It also shows that women are getting better opportunities of obtaining technical and professional education a more jobs. Comparison of rural and urban participation rates reveals that labour force participation rate is higher in rural areas as compared to urban areas because of agrarian economy.[36]

Employment by Sectors

Agricultural Sector

Agriculture sector plays a vital role in the development of the economy as it has a major contribution in the GDP of our country. It is also the main source of employment and 42% of labour force is engaged directly or indirectly with agriculture. At the same time this sector is the key source of supply of raw material to the other sectors of the economy especially industrial sector. With the development of technology transformation, the labour is being replaced by machines, thus limiting working opportunities in agricultural sector and this coupled with natural calamities in the form of droughts and floods have led reduction in the income levels and decline in its employment. The share of employment in agriculture is shifted to industry sector. The share of employment in agriculture has decreased from 43.7 percent in 2012 to 42.3 percent in 2014-15. Female employment decreased in 2013-14 from 74.0 to 72.7 in 2014-15.

Formal and Informal Sector

The informal sector plays an important role in developing countries like Pakistan. This sectorcan be categorized as self-employed workers and wage workers, doing different jobs from traders to small producers. The huge-informal sector exists side by side with formal sector in Pakistan and almost 72.6 percent non-agricultural labour force is earning its livelihood through this sector. Three is slight increase female workers in informal sector as it increase from 73.0% in 2013-14 to 73.5% in 2014-15.

The growth rate of workers in the formal sector (3.78 percent) is higher as compared to informal sector growth rate (-1.35percent). The workers in formal sector have increased from 26.4 percent in 2012-13 to 27.4 percent in 2014-15. Again as in informal sector, employment of females increase during 2013-14 from 26.3% to 26.5 in 2014-15 in formal sector.

[36] http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_16/12_Population.pdf

Organizational efforts to improve women employment

It is worth recalling that enhancing the participation of women in mainstream development would mean providing greater opportunities and accessibility for them to make decisions, to manage their own resources and to be self-reliant. Therefore, considering the plight of women and to uplift the status of women in society, the government of Punjab has started many initiatives. One of them is the implementation of *Gender Reform Action Plan* (GRAP), *Punjab*.

The main goal of the GRAP is to bring about such changes in the structures and process of the government that it brings equity among men and women. GRAP is implementing its agenda of gender main-streaming and women empowerment through its four key reforms i.e., women employment in public sector, political participation, policy and fiscal reform and institutional restructuring. The main purpose of the GRAP is to initiate proposals for bringing about institutional reforms to include gender perspective at provincial and at district level.

Problems regarding women employment and Solutions

Working together, the government, the private sector, and NGOs should ensure that legislation promotes women's equal participation in the labour market. Existing legislation must be rigorously implemented, with an eye-towards ensuring that women can work autonomously, with appropriate training and fair workplace practices in place.

More gender training initiatives should encourage women to become a part of all aspects of public life. Another key issue is raising the number of women in law enforcement and creating a society that has zero-tolerance towards sexual harassment, so women feel comfortable working outside their homes. Another major challenge is battling global perceptions that Pakistani culture does not respect women.

The public education system must be revamped to prepare women for the digital marketplace, and strong support systems for women must be established. Going forward, a special unit should be established to handle women labour issues at the Ministry of Labour, and women should be prepared for positions at the highest levels of decision making and responsibility. These measures will ensure that the women are robust, capable, and equipped to deal with tomorrow's challenges—and reap its opportunities.

The several persisting gender gaps need to be closed, in order to fully utilize Pakistan's labour potential. The gender issue as a cross cutting theme needs to be strengthened in policies, in order to improve the situation for women in the labour market with regard to labour market access and quality of jobs. The role of women is very important for a nation to progress. Therefore importance of women should be bought at the forefront by creating awareness.

Conclusion

Pakistan stands at 27th position in terms of GDP2 (purchasing power parity) of world, whereas in terms of population it is sixth populous country of the world with estimated population growth rate of 1.89 percent. Pakistan has scarce resources and increasing population is putting more pressure on these resources. The government is well aware of this problem and is making sincere efforts to control the population growth rate through various effective measures such as creating awareness among people through education and media campaign. Population welfare programmes and different initiatives to improve health facilities are contributing significantly in controlling population growth rate, fertility rate, infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate. The structure of existing population of Pakistan shows that the country has 60 percent economically active population or work force. This workforce can be a productive asset of

the country if properly trained through skill development programmes. In this regard government has initiated many programmes for their skill-development and also explores overseas employment opportunities and is planning to send one million workers to other countries to further support our foreign remittances going forward. The Ministry of Overseas Pakistanis is in process of setting up more protector offices in the country as per need of the people.[37]

WOMEN AND LAW

The process of women enlightenment and empowerment which was started during Musharraf regime remained in progress during the period. The struggle of women activists which started soon after the creation of Pakistan and got momentum after the promulgation of discriminatory laws of Zia period has seen the dawn of the progressive and enlightened Pakistan for women where the process of reconciliation has been started. Although the process of establishing a democratic and safe state for the women and the enforcement of human rights in its real sense still has a long way to go in Pakistan. Women's rights protection by legal reforms got a bloom in the year of 2006 by the enactment of Women Protection Law. Protection of Women Act was the result of the continuous demand from national and International women organizations and commissions.

Pakistan has made many international commitments for the protection of women and human rights. A series of these commitments are as follows which paved the way for protection of women rights and empowerment.

Pakistan and the United Nations Commitments[38]

United Nations which came into being soon after World War-II as a mediator of world peace, took the issue of women rights seriously. United Nations Charter specified equal rights for men and women in a way that no previous international legal document had. The movement for the protection of women rights was started in different countries at different times. The women suffrage movement was the first one which fought for legal protection. The women of the world over were concerned to get the right to vote. This was the agenda of United Nations to extend suffrage rights to all the women of member states but women could not get this right unless their own countries provide it a legal protection. Although the cultural barriers restrict women to use this right but protection of this right by law in a country is considered primary. Women started demanding civil rights after getting the suffrage right. They demanded civil rights in other areas of life like property rights, economic rights and social rights. Soon after its emergence Pakistan became the member of United Nations.

United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (1946)[39]

In 1946, the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women was set up on account of the continuous disregard of the human rights of women in all over the world. This Commission was established to secure equal political, economic and educational rights and opportunities for women throughout the world. Pakistan has shown its commitments to International human rights treaties. United Nations always responded positively to all the women rights and demands. The UN

37 http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_16/12_Population.pdf
38 http://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/jpag/article/viewFile/5059/_8
39 http://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/jpag/article/viewFile/5059/_8

Convention on the Political Rights of Women was adopted by the General Assembly in 1952, and The UN Convention on the Nationality of Married Women was adopted in 1957 followed by the convention on the consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriage adopted in 1962. The Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women in 1985. Pakistan also ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990 and in 1993.

The Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing 1995[40]

Pakistan participated in 1995 in the fourth World Conference on women in Beijing as called Beijing platform for action. This Conference clearly stated that, it is an agenda for women's empowerment. Since 1995, there appeared a paradigm shift towards women and gender development issues. It became clear in this conference that now the focus would be on gender equality and human rights. It was recognized in this conference that violence against women is a serious obstacle in women development, so it was adopted as one of the twelve critical concerns in the platform for Actions. In this Conference Pakistan participated and after this with the consultation and involvement of the civil society developed a National Plan of Action. This Conference highlighted three main areas economic advancement, equal rights and violence against women .Pakistan also adopted this and as a key follow up as per para 297 of the platform for action formed National Plan.

Pakistan also signed The Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of women (FLSAW) in Nairobi in 1985. The Programme of Action agreed at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in 1994 at Cairo, and World Summit on Social Development. The programme of Action agreed at the International Conference on Population (WSSD) in 1995 at Copenhagen and Pakistan acceded to the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 1996

Pakistan participated in the 'Beijing Declaration which was the agenda for the empowerment of women. Under this declaration it was recognized that women have unequal status in the society. It was committed in this declaration that it is the due right of women to ensure all the basic and fundamental rights to women and all the barriers which are creating hurdles in their way should be abolished. Beijing Conference was a catalyst for Pakistan accession to CEDAW. Pakistan signed CEDAW in 1995 and ratified it on March 11, 1996. Pakistan women activists were demanding to ratify the CEDAW since 1983.

During the government of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif despite an early ratification of the CEDAW, little has been done according to CEDAW. This was due to the political instability in Pakistan from 1988 to 1999. Pakistan did not submit even a single report to the CEDAW committee until 2004. In 2004, Pakistan submitted a report which was consisted of two hundred pages but after that one hundred pages report was submitted, which was also shared with non-governmental organizations and civil society for inputs and comments. It was due to the better commitment under CEDAW that Pakistan in terms of legislation, Criminal Amendment Act 2004 was enacted. Pervaiz Musharraf was very much concerned towards the better and soft image of Pakistan of position in the world. He introduced laws and repealed the discriminatory laws towards women.

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[40] http://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/jpag/article/viewFile/5059/_8

The Grounds for Women Protection Act 2006

In July 2005, the report prepared by the Ministry of women Development was submitted to the committee of CEDAW. The committee appreciated Pakistan for various legal reforms which were executed by the government of Pakistan as the adoption of National Plan of Action in 1998. National policy for advancement and empowerment of women in 2002. Legal Framework Order 2002 provided women's political participation and amendment in Pakistan Citizenship Act in 2002. Human Trafficking Ordinance 2002, Criminal Law Amendment Act in 2004 facilitated prosecution of honour killing and the Gender Reforms Actions Plan in 2005. The reorganization of ministry of women development and the creation of National Commission on the Status of Women in 2000 and financial structure as First Woman Bank(UNCEDAW,verdict,2007). Women activists and National and International organizations were protesting against the Hudood Ordinance 1979 by considering it discriminatory law towards women. The political governments after Zia regime came to power with the promise of repealing the Hudood-Ordinance but did not bring any change in the prevailing laws due to the compromises made for the political stability. General Pervaiz Musharraf had started the process by the promulgation of Criminal Law Amendment Act 2004.

The changes in Hudood-laws introduced by Zia were moulded by the male chauvinists by their own likes and dislikes. Under this law instead giving punishments to rapists, the law was used to punish the rape victims as alleging them for committing crime as adultery. The reality was that the Hudood laws were defective and were adopted under a pedant military regime. It was needed to be debated in the parliament and the discriminatory provisions should be repealed. On March 9, 2006 a seminar was organized by Aurat-foundation Peshawar and urged the government to change the Hudood laws, declaring that these laws had been a cause of women's victimization from decades and declared the Hudood-Ordinance a man-made law but Zia regime called it an Islamic law.

Women Protection Act 2006

In June 2006, the process to repeal the Hudood-Ordinance was started. General Pervaiz Musharraf called upon religious scholars to give recommendations in order to repeal the Hudood Laws. The Council of Islamic Ideology recommended that the state should rewrite the Hudood Laws and these laws should be in consonance to the Quran and Sunnah as well as incorporate to the Pakistan's Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes.

It was finally decided that the laws concerning to zina should be reformed. The cabinet approved the draft amendments and a committee consisted of five ministers was set up to table the bill in the National Assembly. Although The Protection of Women Act 2006 was tabled by the Federal government in August. Jamat-e-Islami protested against the bill. They considered and declared it un-Islamic and the cause of vulgarity and westernization in the country. They claimed that this bill will not provide any protection to women rather will block the way of protection of women. However on 1st December 2006, the bill was promulgated after receiving the assent of the President General Pervaiz Musharraf (DawnNews,1st jan,2007). In its preamble it was stated that "it is necessary to provide relief and protection to women against misuse and abuse of law and to prevent their exploitation" (Gazette of Pakistan,2nd Dec,2006).

The causes and reasons to repeal the laws is stated in the act that is to bring in particular the laws relating to zina and Qazf in conformity with the stated objectives of the constitution and the injunctions of Islam.

In Pakistan Penal Code (Act XI V of 1860) sections 365B, 367A, 371A, 371B were inserted which dealt with abducting. Kidnapping or inducing women to compel for marriage as well as abducting or Kidnapping for the unnatural lust, selling the persons for the purpose of prostitution or buying the persons for the purposes of prostitution, all shall be punished with death or rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to twenty five years and shall also be liable to fine (Gazette of Pakistan,2nd Dec,2006).

The new sections 375 and 376 under the heading of rape were inserted in which

> *"A man who will commit rape against the will or consent or in a situation where a man got consent after indulging her in a fear of hurt or death or in the case of where man knows that he is not married to her and she agreed or showed her consent because she believes that the man is that whom she is or believes herself to be married or got a girl's consent who is under the age of sixteen years would be liable to be punished as death or imprisonment not less than twenty five years."*

In this way the punishments for rape had been repealed. In the case of gang rape each will face same punishments. In this way the victim of rape would be no more bound to produce four male pious eye witness Muslims to present evidence. The person who will complaint or come with the charge of rape will not face the charges of zina and the circumstantial evidences would be required to investigate the cases (Gazette of Pakistan, 2nd Dec, 2006).

The Protection of Women Act 2006, declared all the sexual acts of men against women under the age of sixteen and marital rape as an offense and these acts would be punishable under the insertion of new sections 493A, 496A, 496B and 496C. The man who cohabitates deceitfully inducing a belief of law- full marriage or take away women with criminal intent would face punishment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine. The protection of women act 2006 changed the reporting procedure of zina. It was required from the complainant of zina falling under Hadood to come in the Session-Court with the four pious Muslim witness evidences. One who would not be able to bring proves would be punishable under the Qazf. The punishment of fornication "shall be imprisonment for a term which may extend to five years and shall also be liable to five" same punishments were for false accusation of fornication.

The definition of marriage which had become problematic was also changed under this law. Although this law was given the name of protection against women or Women Protection Act but it did not provide the umbrella of protection to women totally because the key demands which the women rights activists made in their campaign as the change of rape laws were not included in the new rape definition as well (Gazette of Pakistan, 2011, p.266).

The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 2010

This law was a milestone for the protection of women rights and protection of women in Pakistan. In our society most of the people think that the place of women is in the four walls of home and they need nothing to do outside. The women who want to take part in economic or other social activities, they have to face many hardships. This segment of the society think that if women came out they should harass and block their way to come out of their houses. Sherry Rehman was the architect of this law. In this law sexual-harassment was declared a crime which would be punishable by law. This law was not mentioned as a crime in the PPC of 1862.

This law brought amendments in section 509 of the PPC which were relating to sexual harassment of women at work place. This was a marvellous piece of law which was only for

protection of women rights. It was explained in this law that " whoever intending to insult the modesty of any woman, utters any word, makes any sound or gesture, or exhibits any object intending that such word or sound shall be heard, or that such gesture or object shall be seen, by such woman, or induces upon the privacy of such women." The person who conducts sexual advances or uses verbal or non-verbal communication or physical conduct of a sexual nature and the act which put effect on the work and employment of a person would be called an offence and that offence should be punished with imprisonment which could be extended to three years or with the fine up to five hundred thousand rupees or with both (Gazette of Pakistan2010).

Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act 2010

On January 21, Senate passed bill Protection against Harassment of women. The objective behind this law was to make a code of conduct and this code of conduct would be an anti-sexual harassment policy which would be the part of every registered organization. In this law the definition of sexual harassment and other concerning terms were explained comprehensively. It is stated in this law that every organization will have to form a committee which would be comprised of three members and at least one member among the three should be a woman. This committee will gather complaints of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is defined in the Act 2010 as

> *"Any unwelcome sexual advance, request for sexual favours or other verbal or written communication or physical conduct of sexual nature or sexually demeaning attitudes, causing interference with work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment or the attempt to punish the complainant for refusal to comply to such a request or is made a condition for employment" (Raja, 2010, p.41).*

This law made it essential for every organization to have a code of conduct and a standing committee to deal the issues. Anybody who is the perpetrator of sexual harassment and committee found it not easy to hold accountable then this case can be taken to the offices of the ombudsperson. In the schedule 2(b) and (i) code of conduct for protection against harassment of women at the work place is mentioned. This code of conduct is for those people for whom it is difficult to understand the difficulties of the law (Raja, 2010, p.47).

Main objective of this bill is to create a safe environment for women which will free of harassment. This Act mainly addressed two main rights of woman i.e. right to work and right to dignity. This bill made harassment crime for the first time in Pakistan's history. It is a breakthrough. Pakistani women face harassment at streets, at homes, at workplaces and at public places. Women could not utilize their abilities in well manner due to the harassment, it had made working environment very uneasy for women. It is the biggest hurdle in the ways of working women's progress. The objective of this law is to create such a conducive environment, where people feel-free to work and earn their living, which will make them economically empowered. Economic empowerment is one of the major dimension of women empowerment. This law was in compliance with the commitment of government to international standard of women empowerment. This law addressed the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and human rights declaration.

Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act 2011 in Pakistan

In Pakistan women rights are violated through heinous crimes like acid throwing. This is the worst form of crime against women. It is a grave crime which can be occurred on both at

public places and in the homes. This crime is mostly committed by the ex-husbands of wives who are jealous with the beauty of their wives and by the boys who send their proposals to the girls and on the rejection of their proposals. They commit this crime to take grave revenge.

Pakistan government and human activists criticized this violence several times. The situation in Pakistan became so severe that Government of Pakistan took a solid step to counter this crime by the enactment of the Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act 2010 in Pakistan. This law recommended imprisonment sentence for fourteen years to life-time imprisonment sentence and for fine up to one million. There was no proper legislation for these types of crimes that's why this became common in Pakistani society. (Gazette of Pakistan,2011).

Objectives of the Bill

The main objective of this bill was to control the production, import and sale of the acid because this crime was prevailing due to the free sale and buying of the acids in the market. The Parliamentarian Marvi-Memon introduced this law in the National Assembly. It is mentioned in the bill that this bill is to prevent and protect women from acid crimes. The assertion of new section 336A and 336B, "Whoever causes hurt by means of fire or by any heated substance or by means of any poison or any corrosive substance or acid, or by means of any explosive or arsenic substance or by means of any substance which is deleterious to the human body to come into contact with, to inhale, to swallow or to receive into the body shall be called to have caused hurt by dangerous means or substance" (News-desk, 21,Oct,2010).

This bill was a further amendment to the Pakistan Penal Code 1860. In Section 336-B of the amendment it is stated that "whoever causes hurt by coercive substance shall be punished with life imprisonment of either description which shall not be less than fourteen years with a minimum fine of Rs. one million"(Mirza,2011,p.3).

Now this law has been enacted and the criminals know that a law has been passed to counter and limit them doing these types of horrible crimes. Now they will realize that acid attacks are criminalized acts which will be punished as well as the seller of the acids would realize the selling of the acids is a crime and the selling is regulated and controlled. Now it is up to the police and implementation authorities that they check and monitor the acid sale and purchase.

Despite the enforcement of these laws, according to Aurat foundation a women's rights organization in the year 2011 almost 8,000 examples of violence were recorded in which 44 were acid attacks. However the making of law is the first step and it is up step towards effective implementation (Zia, T, 2013).

Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act, 2012

The National Assembly passed this bill in 2009 but it was lapsed because Senate did not pass this bill within the three month period. The legislation of the bill was now to be taken up to the provinces after the passage of the eighteenth amendment in the constitution. On 20th February, Senate unanimously passed the Domestic Violence Prevention and Protection Act 2012 (Pak Today, 22nd Dec, 2012). This law is leap forward to the women empowerment in Pakistan and it is said that it is the most progressive act which is relating to the violence committed in the four walls of the house. Pakistani Women are considered as private property and domestic violence was not considered as a violence at all. The domestic violence remained an issue of

concern. This domestic violence made the violence in the chardiwari (four walls) as a crime or offence which would be punishable as imprisonment and liable to imposition of fines.

National Commission for Human Rights Act 2012

The process to introduce legal reforms for the empowerment of women has been taken seriously by the government. For this purpose National Commission for Human Rights Act was enacted on 4th May 2012 by the parliament of Pakistan and was passed by the President of Pakistan on 30th May 2012(Year Book, NCSW, 2011-2012, p.13).

This Commission was established with the purpose to broaden the perspective of human rights in Pakistan, so that it pursues the cases of violation of human rights diligently. It is already declared that women rights are the human rights, The National Commission on the Status of Women has presented its fourth periodic report to the United Nations CEDAW Committee, under the chairmanship of Khawar Mumtaz. This fourth periodic report is the result of the combined efforts of government and civil society organizations. In this report it is shared and informed to UN committee that Pakistan is very much concerned to address discrimination against women and have undertaken interventions to promote and secure the status of women as equal citizens. Although Pakistan is facing extremism within the country, government of Pakistan is very much serious to promote the status of women in Pakistan. It was mentioned in the report that under the eighteenth amendment the devolution of power to the provinces was a historic step towards greater autonomy and space for provincial governments to address social problems.

Conclusion

To make laws for the protection of women is a positive thing. In Pakistan a large portion of the society is fighting for the cause of women rights and women empowerment. Now no government can afford to ignore the women's rights because today women have realized their position and status and they will condemn all the actions which will go against towards curtail their position and rights. There is a dire need to make new laws for the women's economic opportunities, employment and social security. The most important component of women empowerment is legal empowerment which guarantees protection of social, economic and cultural rights of women. In Pakistan different strategies are being evolved to achieve the goal of women empowerment. Different governmental and non-governmental organizations played an important role to mobilize women to become legally empowered for the protection of their fundamental rights. The women are striving hard to protect their rights through enactment of the laws. There is sufficient legislation available for the protection of women rights in the country. The women are still becoming victims of attempted rape, domestic violence and sufferings at workplaces. They are reluctant to register their complaints due to fear of being defamed in the society and family pressure. The law enforcement agencies are required to be rehashed. The women have lack of confidence upon justice dispensation system. The better implementation mechanism is required for the protection of women rights and make them legally empowered.

CHAPTER 7

GENDER AND GOVERNANCE

GOVERNANCE

What is Governance?

Governance is the "establishment of policies, and continuous monitoring of their proper implementation, by the members of the governing body of an organization. It includes the mechanisms required to balance the powers of the members (with the associated accountability), and their primary duty of enhancing the prosperity and viability of the organization." **(Business Dictionary)**

Good Governance[1]

The United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) definition of good governance is set out in a 1997 UNDP policy document entitled "Governance for Sustainable Human Development". The document states that governance can be seen as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It is explained that governance has three dimensions: economic, political and administrative. Economic governance includes the decision-making processes that affect a country's economic activities and its relationships with other economies. Political governance is the process of decision-making to formulate policy. Administrative governance is the system of policy implementation. Encompassing all three, good governance defines the processes and structures that guide political and socio-economic relationships.

Governance includes the state but transcends it by taking in the private sector and civil society, all of which are critical in sustaining human development. The institutions of governance in the state, civil society and the private sector must be designed to contribute to this sustainable human development by establishing the political, legal, economic and social circumstances for poverty-reduction, job-creation, environmental protection and the advancement of women.

Elements of Good Governance

Good governance comprises the existence of effective mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Its essential characteristics are:

(a) Participation

All men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through

[1] INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Executive Board – Sixty-Seventh Session Rome, 8-9 September 1999

legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as on the capacity to participate constructively.

(b) Rule of law

Legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.



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(c) Transparency

This concept is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information should be directly accessible to those concerned, and enough information should be provided to render them understandable and monitor-able.

(d) Responsiveness

Institutions and processes should serve all stakeholders.

(e) Consensus orientation

Good governance should mediate differing interests in order to reach broad consensus on the best interests of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.

(f) Equity

All men and women should have equal opportunity to maintain or improve their well-being.

(g) Effectiveness and efficiency

Processes and institutions should produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.

(h) Accountability

Decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations should be accountable to the public as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs

depending on the organization and whether the decision is internal or external to an organization.

(i) **Strategic vision**

Leaders and the public should have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, together with a sense of what is needed for such development. There should also be an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.

Important features of governance

- Governance is a conceptual approach that, when fully elaborated, can frame a comparative analysis of macro-politics.
- Governance concerns "big" questions of a "constitutional" nature that establish the rules of political conduct.
- Governance involves creative intervention by political actors to change structures that inhibit the expression of human potential.
- Governance is a rational concept, emphasizing the nature of interactions between state and social actors, and among social actors themselves.
- Governance refers to particular types of relationships among political actors, that is, those which are socially sanctioned rather than arbitrary.

Government vs Governance

"Governance is the physical exercise of the polity while the government is the body through which this is done." (Anonymous)

Government

Government is a group of people who rule or run the administration of a country. In other words, it may be said that a government is the body of representatives that governs and controls the state at a given time. Government is the medium through which the power of the state is employed. Government may be of different types. It may be a democracy or autocracy, but most of the modern governments are democratic. Here we are taking into consideration the democratic ones in relation with the government.

A democratic government may be defined as that which has the public mandate to run the affairs of the country with a well-defined term after which in the successive term the same people may be elected again. The government may be labelled as good or bad according to their ways of working for the good of the people. If a government provides capable governance, then it has a chance of coming back into power again.

Governance

Governance is the act of governing or ruling. It is the set of rules and laws framed by the government that are to be implemented through the representatives of the state. Simply put, governance is what governments do. Governance is a concept that can be followed in an organization of any size, be it a single cell or an organism or all of humanity. Governance may function variously for profit or non-profit, for people, or itself. The main purpose of governance

is to assure good results following a set pattern of rules. Governance may be of various types as undermentioned but it is not necessary to explain here.

- Global Governance
- Corporate Governance
- Project
- Information Technology
- Participatory
- Non-profit and a few others

SUFFRAGIST MOVEMENT[2]

Deriving from the word for the pieces of broken pottery once used to cast votes, *suffrage* means the right to vote in elections. Full suffrage is usually defined as not only the right to vote but to run for office as well. Since most governments, even democratic ones, developed along patriarchal principles, many early republics permitted only men to vote. Even in the often-idealized Athenian democracy of fifth century B.C.E. Greece, neither slaves nor women were permitted to vote.

Many women have spoken out against the gender-biased policies of their governments, and during the second half of the nineteenth century American women began an organized struggle to gain the right to vote in national elections. Though the fight to gain suffrage would last for several generations, the actions of US suffragists, as those fighting for female suffrage called themselves, were part of a movement to improve women's rights throughout the Western world.

The women's suffrage movement, which began during a time of great social change in the mid-1800s, was closely linked with a women's rights movement, sometimes called the first wave of feminism. As they would during the women's liberation movement, which peaked during the 1970s, almost a hundred years later, lesbian and bisexual women led the American movement for women's suffrage.

Nineteenth-century Beginning

As long as men have made laws abridging the rights of women, there have no doubt been women who spoke out against those laws. Many of their voices have been lost. However, one important early statement was Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, published in 1792. This work exerted great influence on the nineteenth-century suffragists. The atmosphere of social reform that characterized the nineteenth century was fertile ground for an organized women's movement. This movement flourished throughout Europe, but was especially energized by the work of women in the United States and Great Britain.

The event that marked the beginning of the women's suffrage movement in the US was the Seneca Falls Convention, held in New York State on July 19 and 20, 1848. Organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, and attended by about 250 women and 40 men, the convention addressed many issues of women's rights, including the right to vote.

Close to a hundred of the attendees signed the Declaration of Sentiments drawn up by Stanton, which outlined women's oppression and demanded equality with men? Reports of the

[2] *encyclopedia Copyright© 2015, glbtq, Inc. Entry Copyright © 2004, glbtq, inc. Reprinted from http://www.glbtq.com*

convention in the press were mostly condescending and contemptuous, with the exception of those by some progressive journalists such as the famous abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who had attended the event himself.

Many of the activists in the budding women's suffrage movement were also strong abolitionists, who worked to end slavery in the United States. During the Civil War years (1861-1865) most stopped their activities on behalf of women's rights, in part because they devoted their energies to supporting Northern troops and the cause of abolition.

Many suffragists believed that once the war was won and black slaves became citizens with full rights, both black and white women would be given full suffrage as well. However, when the war ended, many national leaders continued to argue against giving women the right to vote. Many suffragists regarded this as a betrayal, and they reacted with bitter disappointment. The different priorities concerning votes for women and votes for black men led to a split within the movement.

From the National Women's Suffrage Association to the League of Women Voters

Some suffragist leaders, such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, accused the Republican Party of abandoning support for the rights of women in favour of the rights of black men. In May 1869, they formed a group called the National Women's Suffrage Association.

Other members of the movement, including Julia Ward Howe and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, disagreed with the confrontational tactics of the NWSA and prioritized the legalization of the rights of former slaves. They formed the American Women's Suffrage Association in November 1869. By 1870, the worst fears of the NWSA had been confirmed: the fifteenth amendment to the US. Constitution was passed, granting the right to vote to black men, with no mention of women.

Stanton and Anthony responded by sending a petition to Congress in 1871 requesting female suffrage. When that did not work, Anthony led a group of women to an 1872 election site to attempt to vote. She was arrested for "knowingly, wrongfully, and unlawfully voting."

By 1890, the two US women's suffrage organizations merged, forming the National American Women's Suffrage Association, which, in 1919, became the League of Women Voters.

British Suffragists and the Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, a discouraged US suffrage movement received renewed energy from the confrontational tactics of militant suffragists in Great Britain, where women like Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughter Christobel not only marched in the streets, but also cut telegraph wires and broke store windows to call attention to their cause. They were reviled by the male press, as were the American women inspired by them who picketed the White House during World War I demanding the vote and comparing President Woodrow Wilson to the German Kaiser.

Meanwhile, some localities and newly-admitted states, mainly in the West, began granting women the right to vote in local and state elections. Eventually, whether worn down by decades of women's activism or by the demands of modernity, early in 1919 Congress passed the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution, granting women the right to vote in national elections. It was ratified by the required number of states before the end of 1920. Equal suffrage was granted to women in Great Britain in 1930.

Movement in Different Countries

European countries such as Finland (1906), Norway (1913), Denmark and Iceland (1915) granted women the right to vote early in the 20th century. Other continental powers were quick to accord women the right to vote at the end of World War I. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Netherlands granted suffrage in 1917; Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Sweden in 1918; and Germany and Luxembourg in 1919. Spain extended the ballot to women in 1931, but France waited until 1944 and Belgium, Italy, Romania, and Yugoslavia until 1946. Switzerland finally gave women this right in 1971, and women remained disenfranchised in Liechtenstein until 1984.

In Canada women won the vote in Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan in 1916; after federal suffrage was achieved in 1918, other provinces followed the suit, the last being Quebec in 1940. Among the Latin American countries, national women's suffrage was granted in 1929 in Ecuador, 1932 in Brazil, 1939 in El Salvador, 1942 in the Dominican Republic, 1945 in Guatemala, and 1946 in Argentina. In India during the period of British rule, women were enfranchised on the same terms as men under the Government of India Act of 1935; following independence, the Indian Constitution, adopted in 1949 and inaugurated in 1950, established adult suffrage. In the Philippines, women received the right to vote in 1937, in Japan in 1945, in China in 1947, and in Indonesia in 1955. In African countries men and women have generally received the vote at the same time, as in Liberia (1947), Uganda (1958), and Nigeria (1960). In many Middle Eastern countries, universal suffrage was acquired after World War II. In some countries, such as Saudi Arabia, there is no suffrage at all, and in others, such as Kuwait, it is very limited and excludes women completely.

Outcomes of the Suffrage Movement

The Women's Suffrage Movement opened many doors for the women and allowed them to achieve a greater role in the society.

1. **Equal Rights**

Equal rights became the primary focus of the National Women's Party (NWP) during the 1920s. The National League of Republican Colored Women (NLRCW) lobbied with the NWP in 1924 and proposed legislation granting men and women of all races equal rights socially, politically and economically. The bill was not passed, but women did succeed in getting one state-level equal rights bill passed in Wisconsin. The early efforts of the NWP and NLRCW put political pressure on Democrats and Republicans to include women in equal rights legislation.

2. **Social Outcomes**

The suffrage movement created higher expectations for women. By the early twentieth century, women were able to attend college and to train for professions, although not in the same numbers as men. They began to enter male-dominated professions like law, medicine, clergy and corporate. Also women initiated a bunch of new institutions. The Women's Suffrage movement allowed for women to secure their place in society and take a closer step to complete equality amongst the people of America.

3. **Economic Outcomes**

In the aftermath of the Women's Suffrage Movement, women's economic roles increased in society. Since there was more educational opportunities for women it led more and more women

to sense their potential for meaningful professional careers. Also women's salaries increased but not to the amount that men received. However, this still was a huge success for women because it was such a big step from what it had been before.

4. Political Outcomes

Resistance of giving women the right to vote began to burn down when the territorial legislature of Wyoming granted women this right in 1869; it was the first permanent suffrage law in US history. By the 1890s, several states had granted suffrage. When by 1913 there were 12 states, the National Woman's Party, led by Alice Paul, decided to harness the voting power of women in those states to push a suffrage resolution through Congress. The country's involvement in World War I required the support of women; this provided the suffragists their decisive fire power. When the US entered the war in 1917, a woman suffrage amendment was submitted in the House of Representatives. By 1919, it had passed both houses of Congress and was soon ratified by the necessary 36 states. Finally, the women of America achieved justice when the 19th Amendment, also called the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, became law in August 1920. The Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution reads, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

By comparing the effects of the Women's Suffrage Movement to the effects of the Women's Rights Movement we can infer that the economic and social effects were similar however the political effects were different. Economically and socially, both movements gained women more rights/privileges. For instance, economically, they achieved a greater variety in job choices and higher salaries. As for social, both movements were able to help society see women as strong, hardworking individuals. Politically, the effects were different. The Women's Rights Movement granted women more political rights like property rights. Whereas the Women's Suffrage Movement achieved the Nineteenth Amendment which gave women the right to vote. Even though both movements were generally striving for the same thing, there were many differences between them.

GENDER ISSUES IN WOMEN AS VOTERS

Voting Rights for Women

Gender equality is not merely an American principle. It is not a partisan issue. It is a universally accepted, global human rights norm. It's also a national security issue.

Before 1920, women did not have a national right to vote in the United States. Women's suffrage, the movement to achieve the female vote, was won gradually at state and local levels during the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution was ratified, which provided:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

To appreciate the passing of the Nineteenth Amendment, one must look back to the mid-nineteenth century. The Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 was a single step in a broad and continuous effort by women to gain a greater proportion of social, civil, and moral rights for themselves; but was viewed by many as a revolutionary beginning to the struggle for women's equality.

Women's suffrage took a back seat to the Civil War and Reconstruction, but America's entry into World War I re-initiated a vigorous push. When President Woodrow Wilson announced that America needed to enter the European battlefield in order to protect democracy, women were up in arms. The National Women's Party became the first cause to picket outside the White House, with banners comparing President Wilson to his German adversary, Kaiser Wilhelm. The Nineteenth Amendment was passed the year following the Treaty of Paris, which ended World War I.

Women in Recent Politics

Research shows that women perceive policy priorities differently than men. According to *Pew Research Institute*, women often identify distinct problems as very important, specifically issues around inequality such as reproductive rights and unequal treatment based on ethnic, racial or sexual orientation.

Clearly, rights and equality have always been central to the women's vote. It is not surprising that women would demonstrate empathy for the underrepresented and marginalized, considering the deep history of sexism and the gender biases that persist in America, almost 100 years after gaining equal political rights.

Terrorism is a top national security concern among American voters. Yet, the current challenges of radicalization can't be addressed unless our policymakers pay attention to the gender dimensions of this threat. The elimination of women's rights is a core tenet of the radical movements that are destabilizing countries and forcing so many to flee as refugees. From the Taliban to Boko Haram, to ISIS, these groups have set their sights on destroying women's access to education and justice. And many governments that are sliding further and further away from democracy are manipulating gender and women's roles to suit their own purposes.

Valerie Hudson and other researchers have demonstrated empirically that women's treatment is directly related to state security. In countries where women are treated badly, there is a higher propensity for violence and armed conflict. And we shouldn't be complacent about gender inequities in American society. In 2015, the US fell to number 28th in the world in a global ranking of gender equality by the *World Economic Forum*. The bottom line: peace, prosperity and security are not possible anywhere without women's rights.

In 2016, the gender gap could be more powerful than ever, as gender itself has become a lightning rod in our public discourse. The presidential campaign is a perfect storm: a shattered glass ceiling juxtaposed against pockets of deeply-ingrained sexism—and sometimes outright hostility—towards women. But the concerning rhetoric is not just a domestic political issue—it fits into a larger picture globally. There is a growing backlash against women around the world. And American female voters should be very worried about it.

Women have the political influence to elect candidates and shape policies, and female voters place a high value on inclusivity and equality. We also have the ability to push our political system to embrace women's participation and women's human rights as core principles of our policy throughout the country. The stakes could not be higher today—women need to stand together in defence of safety, dignity and opportunities.

Female Voting in Pakistan

Women's exclusion in the formal arena of politics is a historic and global phenomenon. Despite several international conventions, covenants and commitments to gender equality, the gender gap with only 19 percent women in the world parliaments is stark and abysmal. The gender imbalance in democracies around the world is a continuing challenge for the international community. In Pakistan, there is no constitutional bar on the political participation of women as voters or as candidates. However, women's representation in the national legislature has never moved beyond 10% until 2001 when the gender quota was restored by the military regime at the local, provincial and national level. Through a legislative provision, 33 percent seats were reserved for women in local government and 17 percent in the national and provincial assemblies and senate.

In Pakistan, despite being a country where a woman was twice elected as Prime Minister, gender equality in the political arena is still a distant dream for a vast majority of women, who are often not even allowed to cast their votes in certain parts of the country. According to the World Economic Forum's (WEF) Global Gender Gap Report 2016, Pakistan ranks 143 out of 144 countries in the gender inequality index, way behind Bangladesh and India which rank 72nd and 87th respectively. Pakistan is also the worst performing state in South Asia and has been for the last couple of years, while Sri Lanka ranks 100th, Nepal 110th, the Maldives 115th and Bhutan 121st.[3] With a Human Development Index (HDI) value of 0.550, Pakistan ranks 147th out of 188 countries and territories, according to the 2016 human development report released by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).[4] However, Pakistan is performing relatively well on the women's political empowerment indicator because of the gender quota in legislatures.

Hurdles to Participate in Election

Women's exclusion in the formal political processes is the result of the interplay of multiple structural, institutional and functional obstacles that are present in the country.

1. Structural Barriers

The discursive frameworks built on the ideology of the sexual division of labour that defines women's role exclusively in the private arena of the home and men's role in the public sphere is the key structural barrier to women's participation in public life. The dichotomy of public and private spaces delineates politics as a male prerogative. When women enter the public space of politics, they have to constantly confront male resistance and defend their presence as a legitimate right. The institution of segregation as the linchpin of women's gender role in society is maintained through the concept of *purdah* and generally restricting women's mobility outside the private arena of the home. Such attitudes are sustained by lingering feudal and tribal patriarchal norms and practices that maintain a stranglehold over the bodies and sexuality of women, and pose a formidable challenge to women's participation in politics.

Thus a fragile democracy constantly interrupted by military coups, poor economic performance and the inability of the State to provide equal opportunities to citizens, combined with widening disparities along the lines of class, gender, religion, ethnicity, and growing religious

3 https://www.dawn.com/news/1292347
4 https://propakistani.pk/2017/03/24/pakistan-places-abysmally-human-development-index-2017

extremism and militancy are some of the contextual/structural barriers that hamper women's participation in politics. The nature of the post-colonial state of Pakistan that is still struggling after seventy years of independence to define its identity and decide whether it is a theocratic or a secular state, also plays a part in restricting women from participating in public life.

2. Institutional Barriers

Political parties are the key actors in facilitating or impeding women's participation in politics. However, political parties are dominated by males from the elite class, and this, together with dynastic control over leadership positions, has discouraged democratic practices within the mainstream political parties and contributed to blocking women's entry in politics.

Another key institution, the Election Commission of Pakistan, not only has a huge gender imbalance in its workforce, it has until very recently continued to neglect gender issues and concerns despite pressure from women's rights groups and despite technical support from donor agencies for the past many years. The ECP has neglected to maintain gender disaggregated data on voters' turnout, take measures to bridge the gender gap in electoral rolls, or launch awareness programmes to sensitize voters. It did not take action where women were barred from voting, or respond adequately to incidents of violence against women voters, candidates and polling agents during elections. However, some improvement in its performance was witnessed during the last elections held in 2013.

3. Functional Barriers

Low social, economic and political investment in building women's human capital defines women's own self-perception and the perception of politics. Women often lack education, economic resources, confidence, knowledge, ambition and political skills to enter into politics. These personal and psychological factors undermine women's capacity to participate in governance structures, and together with women's familial responsibilities leave little time and space for them to aspire for political roles.

Challenges for Women Voters

Among the key issues and challenges faced by women voters are: under-registration as voters, and absence of computerized national identity cards (CNICs). Statistics show that fewer women than men are registered in voters' lists, and many do not possess the required CNICs that would enable them to be registered and to cast their votes. Even if the above requirements have been met, women may not be allowed to cast their votes as they choose, and may have to vote as directed by male members of their families.

There are instances where women, individually and collectively, are prevented from exercising their right to vote by their families, tribes, clans and local and religious leaders, sometimes by threats to their physical wellbeing. Candidates from contesting parties support these restrictions and sign agreements pledging that they will not allow their women to cast their votes. More recently, the Taliban too have entered the equation, and are posing serious threats to women voters and candidates.

These cultural and structural factors serve to disenfranchise women voters and result in lower turnout of female voters. A study of the 2008 general elections by the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT) indicated a drastic reduction in the

number of women voters in Pakistan, especially in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and areas more threatened by extremism. According to the report, the number was reduced by approximately 45% in KP, and compared to 3.92 million women voters in 2002 there were only 2.17 million women voters in 2008. The internal displacement in FATA due to military operations following the 9/11 attacks was responsible for an alarming decline of 96% in women voters. A host of factors, for example: insecurity, recession and perhaps, disappointment with the political system resulted in a decline in women voters in Sindh (41%), Punjab (37%) and Islamabad Capital Territory (19%). The report showed an overall reduction of women voters by 39% as compared to 18% male voters. Women were 40% of the total voters in 2002, but came down to 30% in 2008.

Women's Equal Participation in Politics

Women's equal participation in politics is their basic right. They constitute nearly half of the total population of the country. Their contribution through their triple roles of productive, reproductive and community management is vital to the development of the economy and society. Their active participation in the decision-making processes, determining how resources are to be used and in setting national priorities will not only improve the lot of women, it will also deepen democracy and strengthen the process of development in the country.

The foregoing discussion clearly indicates that women's political participation is not solely dependent on women's own capabilities and capacities. The larger context of different power relationships, such as public and private patriarchy, male domination of political parties, the masculine nature of the State, imperfect political processes and religious extremism, all affect the ability of women to participate meaningfully in politics at different levels, as voters, members of political parties and as public representatives. The way forward must take into account the progress that has been made. Good initiatives must be sustained and achievements must be built upon and taken forward.

ECP provides the following sex-disaggregated voter registration data on the home page of its website, and for the first time ECP has produced a useful graphic of this data, demonstrating greater investment in data and analysis regarding women's electoral participation.[5]

2013 Voter Registration, by Gender and Province/Region				
Province /Region	Male Voters	Female Voters	Total Voters	Female %
Punjab	1,915,388	1,421,271	3,336,659	42.6%
Sindh	1,142,234	596,079	1,738,313	34.3%
KP	337,900	288,064	625,964	46.0%
FATA/FRs	7,008,533	5,257,624	12,266,157	42.9%
Balochistan	27,697,701	21,561,633	49,259,334	43.8%
ICT	10,490,631	8,472,744	18,963,375	44.7%
Total	**48,592,387**	**37,597,415**	**86,189,802**	**43.6%**

[5] http://elections.sdpi.org/pdf/FAFEN.pdf pag5

2018 Voter Registration, by Gender and Province/Region

Annexure 1: Proportions of Registered Voters in Regional Populations

Sr.#	Province/Region	Proportion of Registered Voters in Regional Population		
		Male	Female	Total
1	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	51.74%	39.82%	45.86%
2	FATA	52.38%	33.24%	43.03%
3	ICT	35.40%	33.79%	34.64%
4	Punjab	55.94%	45.37%	50.74%
5	Sindh	45.91%	40.07%	43.11%
6	Balochistan	32.96%	26.71%	29.99%
	Overall	51.29%	41.87%	46.70%

GENDER ISSUES IN WOMEN AS CANDIDATES

"Until women [candidates] know they can be who they are, act like they are, and sound like they are, we're not going to make any progress."

(Carol Bellamy, New York City Council President, 1979)

"The word 'campaign' is a war term. So when you go into a campaign you just prepare to go to war. If you think this is an exercise in civic activity . . . then you are going to be surprised."

(Nancy Pelosi, Leader of the US House of Representatives, representing California's 12th congressional district)

"Every country deserves to have the best possible leader and that means that women have to be given a chance to compete. If they're never allowed to compete in the electoral process, then the countries are really robbing themselves of a great deal of talent." **(UNDP Report)**

Comprising over 50 percent of the world's population, women continue to be under-represented as voters, political leaders and elected officials. Democracy cannot truly deliver for all of its citizens if half of the population remains underrepresented in the political arena.

The principles of governance and the nature of gender about the effective governance is the way that regulates the various aspects of gender with the several interdisciplinary realities. The goals of the governance, and in fact the good governance, is to minimize the poverty level. The gender aspect thinks about the governance because, in this sense they see that the poverty is the basic goal for which the analysis of the whole democratic system is being analyzed. The decision-making at governance level is consistently ignoring the women and the elemental approach towards the women.

Men dominate the political arena; men formulate the rules of the political game; and men define the standards for evaluation. The existence of this male-dominated model results in women either rejecting politics altogether or rejecting male-style politics.

The following are the major aspects to discuss the role of women as candidates in a democratic system.

(a) Reaching gender equality in politics means more balanced and inclusive society with better state of welfare and human rights.

(b) Enhance the level of women's participation in politics, within and beyond parties: community/village leadership, councils, parliament, political parties, public offices etc.

(c) To raise and coordinate public debates and issues of women's rights in political processes at different levels.

(d) Political rights and political pluralism is therefore a woman's right.

(e) In politics, women face repression because dominant image of political actors in today's world is man.

(f) Women are highly committed to promoting national and local policies that address the socio-economic and political challenges facing women, children and disadvantaged groups.

(g) Women are strongly committed to peace-building, as they often disproportionately suffer the consequences of armed conflict. Reconstruction and reconciliation efforts take root more quickly and are more sustainable when women are involved. By helping women become participating members of a democracy, one can look to mitigate conflicts or stop conflicts before they begin.

(h) Women are strongly linked to positive developments in education, infrastructure and health standards at the local level. Where rates of gender development and empowerment are higher, human rates of development and standards of living are also higher.

(i) Significant numbers of the world population are routinely subjected to marginalization, torture, starvation, terrorism, humiliation, mutilation and even murder – reason being that they are women!

(j) To ensure key laws and policies supporting women's equal participation in politics/parties, e.g. constitution, election laws and procedures, party manifestoes etc. are reviewed to benefit the realities.

(k) Inaccessibility to education, food, shelter and self-determination by women due to poverty, culture and other reasons, is a source of violation of their democratic rights to equally participate in election.

(l) For that matter democracy is brought down to mean inclusivity of men from different political parties in governance structures.

(m) Women around the world often face daunting social, economic and political challenges. For democratic governments to deliver to their constituents, they must be truly representative, and it is recognized that women must be equal partners in the process of democratic development. As activists, elected officials and constituents, their contributions are crucial to building a strong and vibrant society. It is, therefore, essential to support women around the world because.

(n) Women are particularly effective in promoting honest government. Countries where women are supported as leaders and at the ballot box have a correspondingly low level of corruption.

The Political Relevance of Gender Stereotypes

Gender stereotypes are concepts about the traits, roles and behaviours appropriate for women and men. Feminine stereotypes characterize women as more caring, compassionate and emotional than their male counterparts, who tend to be seen as tough, assertive and decisive. In politics, masculine stereotypes can be a source of advantage because they match longstanding popular expectations for political leaders, while feminine stereotypes contradict those expectations.

Scholars debate the extent to which gender stereotypes affect voter perceptions of women candidates. Some studies argue that gender stereotypes can be helpful because they give female candidates an aura of empathy and honesty — valued traits for political leaders. Other studies argue that such stereotypes lead voters to see female candidates as lacking crucial masculine qualities. One reason for mixed findings is that previous studies assume voters will always see female candidates through the lens of gender stereotypes

A Theory of Conditional Stereotype Reliance

Most individuals can define feminine stereotypes, but this does not mean people use these ideas to judge all women they encounter. For example, a person who sees a woman walking down the street is unlikely to automatically believe she is sensitive and over-emotional. Psychological research suggests that people only use stereotypes to judge others when the relevant concepts are "activated"– that is, when the concepts come to mind and seem relevant. Noticing that a person is a woman is, by itself, unlikely to activate feminine stereotypes. However, seeing a woman with a baby can call these concepts to mind, activating them as a basis for judgement. Seeing a mother brings to mind other feminine qualities such as sensitivity, compassion and emotionality.

Here is how this process of activation can work in politics. Simply seeing a woman's name on a ballot will not lead voters to think the candidate is weak, passive and over-emotional. However, reading a news article that describes a female candidate as caring can encourage voters to ascribe additional feminine qualities to her. Essentially, the hypothesis is that voters only think about stereotypical qualities when they receive feminine information about a woman candidate. When activated, however, voters will use gendered concepts to evaluate the leadership abilities of female candidates. In those specific circumstances, voters may use feminine stereotypes to infer that a woman candidate lacks key qualifications deemed necessary for political office.

Electoral Reforms and Women Participation in Pakistan

Pakistan is in urgent need of electoral reforms. Currently, there are a number of pressing domestic issues that are seemingly of higher priority for national and international stakeholders, such as the widespread devastation caused by the flood, the economic downturn, and rising extremism. The recent adoption of the 18th Amendment by the Parliament, it is crucial that stakeholders turn their attention to reforming a weakened and flawed electoral system in order to support democracy and national stability. There are various aspects of electoral reform that require attention.

Problems in Electoral Process

A number of factors have seriously undermined the integrity of Pakistan's electoral process over time. Widespread electoral fraud has eroded democratic development, political stability and the rule of law. Successive military governments have manipulated national, provincial and local polls to centralize power within the military and its allies. Highly inaccurate voters' lists and poorly managed polling stations are responsible for disenfranchising millions, especially women. Polling procedures and codes of conduct are often blatantly disregarded with no consequences for the offenders. Dysfunctional and corrupt election tribunals have proven incapable of resolving post-election disputes. Such factors affect all constituents, but are amplified in the case of marginalized citizens such as women and religious minorities.

These patterns have also compromised civilian institutions such as the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), which is responsible for overseeing credible elections and orderly political transitions. The commission suffers from a lack of resources and poor management, which has affected its capacity to research and analyse past elections and to raise important electoral issues. It has had several problems with maintaining an accurate and healthy electoral roll. While it is addressing that problem, the ECP has also been documented as being insensitive to the needs of women voters, and is itself characterized by an extremely low number of women employees, with none in senior management. In 2013 general elections, the ECP has recruited 31 new female employees at various levels, bringing the total number of female staff to 42. Despite this progress, women still account for only 1.8 percent of the ECP's 2,228 employees, and there are no women in senior management positions.[6]

Chief Election Commissioner, Sardar Muhammad Raza Khan expressed hope that the draft Election Act 2017 will play key role in enhancing women participation in the field of electioneering in Pakistan. He was addressing a seminar held at the Election Commission Secretariat, Islamabad to celebrate International Women's Day. The Chief Election Commissioner reiterated the resolve to empower and bring women of Pakistan in the mainstream electoral processes and said, "Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) stands firm to ensure equal participation of women in electoral activities, especially for registration and casting of votes. He informed the participants that, "ECP has written a letter to all the heads of political parties for taking initiatives to improve women participation in electoral process."

Despite active participation and significant contributions by female parliamentarians in the 13th National Assembly, political parties issued party tickets to very few female candidates in preparation for the 2013 General Elections.[7] Number of candidates by gender are undermentioned.

Number of NA Candidates, by Gender and Region-2013

Province /Region	Male	Female	Total	Male%	Female%
Punjab	3,180	155	3,335	95.4%	4.6%
Sindh	1,590	53	1,643	96.8%	3.2%
KP	849	21	870	97.6%	2.4%
FATA/FRs	445	1	446	99.8%	0.2%
Balochistan	374	4	378	98.9%	1.1%
ICT	143	4	147	97.3%	2.7%
Total	**6,581**	**238**	**6,819**	**96.5%**	**3.5%**

Possible Solutions

There have been recent advances to democratize and regulate the electoral system in Pakistan with attention given to enhancing the participation of women.

- The Gender Reforms Action Plan (GRAP) was launched in 2002 and concluded in 2010. GRAP's directive was gender mainstreaming, i.e., ensuring that all public sector

[6] https://www.ifes.org/sites/default/files/the_election_commission_of_pakistan.pdf

[7] http://elections.sdpi.org/pdf/FAFEN%20%20Women%20and%20the%202013%20General%20Elections%20-%2022%20April%202013[1].pdf

policies and projects at the provincial and federal level include gender perspectives and promote equality between men and women. Objectives included the political empowerment of women, which entails electoral, administrative and institutional reforms to achieve gender equity in the public sector. As an integral part of the government's efforts to address gender inequity, GRAP has provided a framework for institutional restructuring of the public sector.

- Pakistan signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in 2008, which obliges it to ensure free and fair elections under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Covenant affords equal rights to all citizens to participate in public affairs, including suffrage and public office.
- The constitutional distortions wrought by the 17th Amendment were repealed in April 2010 when both houses of Parliament unanimously passed the 18th Amendment and introduced provisions to strengthen parliamentary democracy. The amendment enhanced the ECP's independence by making the appointment of its key officials more transparent and subject to parliamentary oversight. The Chief Election Commissioner and other ECP members, previously appointed by the president, will now be selected through consultations between the prime minister and the leader of the opposition in the National Assembly, and subsequently vetted and approved by a joint parliamentary committee comprising equally of government and opposition members.
- The ECP has taken some steps toward electoral reform. In May 2010, it produced a strategic five-year plan with significant international assistance, listing fifteen broad electoral reform goals divided into 129 detailed objectives with specific timeframes. These range from improvements in voter registration and election dispute management procedures to the creation of a comprehensive human resource policy. The parliamentary appointment of a new Chief Election Commissioner and Secretary of the ECP may be a ray of hope for the creation of reliable electoral rolls. ECP has also acknowledged its low number of women employees and is recruiting women to reach its stated goal of 10 percent women employees.
- In February 2010, NADRA signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN), under which NADRA is responsible for identifying areas having low voter registration, and FAFEN will run the public mobilization campaign to increase registration to 100 percent. NADRA has considerable technical resources to aid in database management and computerized electoral rolls. A joint NADRA-FAFEN committee will identify, among other issues, areas where CNIC coverage is very low, especially among women. NADRA has already registered 98 percent of the male population and 71.2 percent of the female population. That brings the total percentage of the registered population to 86 percent, with 12.28 million citizens yet to be registered.
- The Senate of Pakistan unanimously passed The Election Laws Amendment Bill in March 2011. The bill aims to ensure the security and integrity of the database of electoral rolls and makes possession of CNIC (computerized NIC) mandatory for voting. The government has promised a comprehensive "constitutional and legal framework" for electoral reforms to ensure free and fair elections, and has stated a commitment to make barring of women voters a criminal offence.

IMPACT OF POLITICAL QUOTA IN PAKISTAN[8]

Gender quota in politics continues to be surrounded by controversies and debate at the level of discourse and practice in Pakistan. The legal provision of reserved seats for women have been in all the Constitutions of Pakistan 1973 under Article 51 (2A). but the number of reserved seats was not significant enough. On average, there were never more than three percent women in the parliaments till 2001. The military regime of Pervez Musharraf increased the reservation of seats for women substantially in the local government (33%) and in the national, provincial assemblies and in the senate (17%) through the Legal Framework Order (LFO) 2001.

The questions and apprehensions articulated on gender quota in politics are shifting and complex in nature. The set of questions frequently raised at the time of the first election held in 2002 with the provision of 17 percent reserved seats for women included (i) do women have required political skills to effectively participate in the legislative business (ii) do women have different legislative and political priorities (iii) do women have shared interests, and (iv) to what extent women representatives will be able to negotiate and promote women's interest in politics etc.

The performance assessments of women parliamentarians conducted by several civil society organisations in the 12th, 13th and 14th National Assemblies on reserved seats have provided answers to these questions. The research studies show that gender quota parliamentarians actively participated in the conduct of parliamentary business. Women's legislative priorities proved to be somewhat different than their male counterparts. The number of women-specific bills, moved by female parliamentarians and passed during the last two parliaments, were unprecedented in the parliamentary history of Pakistan.

There is consensus in reporting by various organisations that women parliamentarians actively participate in parliamentary business. The 12th National Assembly (NA) saw the highest number of women legislators (74) in the parliamentary history of Pakistan. Sixty women came on reserved seats (17 %) and 14 were elected on general seats. The majority of women came in the parliament for the first time. They had limited knowledge of parliamentary functioning and lacked political skills to participate in parliamentary business. Nevertheless, the performance assessment of women parliamentarians in the 12th NA conducted by the Aurat Foundation showed a remarkable contribution that women had made in parliamentary functioning. Legislative performance of women parliamentarians on gender quota remained high in the 13th and 14th NA (on-going).[9]

Pro-Women Legislations

In the last two parliaments, nine extremely pertinent pro-women legislations were passed and all the bills were moved by women parliamentarians on gender quota. Male

[8] *Rashida Mohammad Hussain Patel*

1. *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Ideal Publishers, Karachi, 2007.*
2. *Political and Legislative Participation of Women in Pakistan: Issues and Perspective, United Nations Development Programme in Pakistan Publication, 2005.*
3. *'Graduation condition termed hostile discrimination', Dawn, 19 April 2008.*
4. *'Supreme Court scraps graduation condition', Dawn, 22 April 2008.*
5. *'Pakistan committed to remove economic injustice, poverty', Business Recorder, 19 April 2008.*

[9] FAFEN have been monitoring parliamentary sessions regularly of the 13th and 14th NA. It is documented that women legislators excel in their participation in the parliament as compared their male colleagues.

parliamentarians' record of moving legislation on women's specific issues has been extremely low in the parliamentary history of Pakistan. Interestingly, women legislators who won on directly elected general seats are not as active in the parliament as women on gender quota. The performance assessment of the NA from June 2014 - Feb 2015 showed that women legislators contributed 50 percent share in the conduct of parliamentary business.[10] Thus, women legislators performed much better on legislative work of the parliament compared to an oversight and representation role, primarily because of their lack of awareness about these roles.

When women as 'private' citizens enter the public domain of politics on gender quota, all the structural constraints that militate against them to enter politics through mainstream political processes do not disappear. Women continue to face patriarchal resistance to be accepted as legitimate power contenders in politics. Patriarchal mind-set and non-democratic dynastic nature of political parties, change in Political Party Act 1962, is decisive to make it mandatory for political parties to hold periodic party elections, give 33 percent representation to women in decision making bodies within the party, and at least 20 percent party tickets to women to contest elections on general seats. Political legal reforms is the only way forward to bridge gender imbalance in politics. It is recommended by Women's Parliamentary Caucus that in general elections, at least 20 percent out of the total turnout of voters in each constituency should be that of women, for the election results to be validated.[11] The forced charge in the behaviour and attitude of politicians was witnessed at the time of reserved seats for women, notwithstanding that religious parties like Jamaat-e-Islami, whose official position is that women cannot become the head of the State. In their political ideology, politics is not a legitimate arena for women but they nominated women from their own families on reserved seats in the parliament.

The way forward for women parliamentarians who are divided along the lines of class, political affiliation, and other social differences is the 'strategic essentialism'. Their experience of public and private patriarchy although different has commonality of subordination and neglect within their political parties, parliament and the state bureaucracy. Women MPs need to transcend their differences and intra-gender conflict and tensions to form an alliance vertically with members of provincial assemblies and women councillors in the local government, and horizontally with women's rights groups and social movements. With the collective voice and agency, women politicians will be able to deliver on substantive representation.[12]

[10] FAFEN, Women Legislators Performance in the National Assembly June 2014 –February 2015.

[11] Recommendation for Electoral Reforms Committee by Women's Parliamentary Caucus (see Appendix 2).

[12] https://pk.boell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2016/01/bridging_the_fault_lines_rethinking_the_gender_quota_approach_ in_pakistan.pdf

CHAPTER 8

GENDER BASED VIOLENCE

"I have always maintained that no nation can ever be worthy of its existence that cannot take its women along with men. No struggle can ever succeed without women participating side by side with men. There are two powers in the world. One is the sword and the other the pen. However there is a third power stronger than both, that of the women." **(M. Ali Jinnah)**

These words co-incites beautifully with the mission statement of Medina:

"We will establish a state in which a young maiden laden with jewelry and ornaments will travel alone from San'aa in Yemen to Busra in Syria (a distance of more than 1500 miles), yet, she will have no fear but the fear of Allah."[1]

Defining Gender Based Violence[2]

The terms gender based violence (GBV) and violence against women are often used interchangeably, as most violence against women is gender-based, and most GBV is inflicted by men on women and girls.

International human rights law documents provide the following definitions of violence against women and GBV

Violence against women

It is "a manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of women's full advancement. Violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men."

NEARLY 80% WOMEN IN PAKISTAN FACE VIOLENCE AND ABUSE

(Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women-DEVAW, preamble)

It "constitutes a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women. It means all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."

(Article 1 DEVAW, Article 3 Istanbul Convention)

[1] http://m-a-jinnah.blogspot.com/2010/12/quaid-e-azam-on-women.html
[2] Retrieved from http://www.health-genderviolence.org/news/191

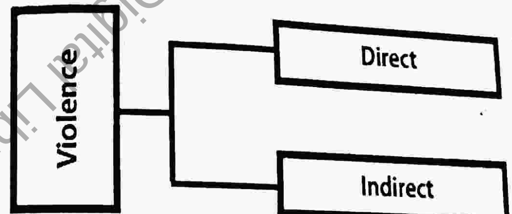
Forms and contexts of gender-based violence against women: "Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following:

(a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family; including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation.

(b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at workplace, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;

(c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs" (Article 2 DEVAW).

STRUCTURAL AND DIRECT FORMS OF VIOLENCE[3]



Source: *http://eige.europa.eu*

Direct Violence

Direct violence against women includes physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence. A comprehensive picture of the different forms of direct violence against women is outlined in the EU Council Conclusions of 5 and 6 June 2014. The Conclusions refer to the following as forms of gender-based violence against women:

- violence in close relationships
- sexual violence (including rape, sexual assault and harassment in all public and private spheres of life);
- trafficking in human beings, slavery, and sexual exploitation;
- harmful practices such as child and forced marriages, female genital mutilation, and crimes committed in the name of so-called 'honour';
- Emerging forms of violation, such as online harassment, various forms of sexual abuse instigated or facilitated through the use of information and communication technologies, stalking, and bullying.

[3] Retrieved from: http://eige.europa.eu/gender-based-violence/what-gender-based-violence/forms-gender-based-violence

Still, the Council Conclusions do not reflect the realm of violence against women in its entirety. Specifically, psychological and economic violence are not visible as they are not explicitly mentioned.

> *"Psychological violence includes 'threats, humiliation, mocking and controlling behaviors'. Economic violence involves denying access of the victim to financial resources, property, healthcare, education, or the labor market, and denying them participation in economic decision-making."*
>
> **(United Nations Statistical Commission, 2010)**

Direct violence against women must be understood through the lens of unequal power relations between women and men. Violence against women is often normalized and perpetuated due to these structural inequalities. Hence, the historical and contemporary subordination of women in economic, social and political life must be acknowledged when attempting to explain the prevalence of direct violence against women in our societies. This means shifting the focus from an actor-oriented perspective which examines individual motivations for acts of violence, to a structure-oriented perspective which looks at the structural gender inequalities that support and justify gender-based violence against women. The structural dimension of violence against women can also be described as direct violence.

Indirect Violence

> *According to the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, institutional or structural violence is 'any form of structural inequality or institutional discrimination that maintains a woman in a subordinate position, whether physical or ideological, to other people within her family, household or community'*
>
> **(Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, 2011)**

Indirect violence can be understood as a type of structural violence, characterized by norms, attitudes and stereotypes around gender in general, and violence against women in particular. Indirect violence operates within a larger societal context; institutions, and the individuals within and outside these institutions, are all engaged in the production and reproduction of attitudes which normalize violence against women (United Nations 1992). Looking at these attitudes can provide insight into the way in which these indirect forms of violence are created and sustained, and even more importantly, how they contribute to and support direct forms of violence against women.

Inequalities - and the forms of violence connected to them - are intersectional. They are the result of an interplay between multiple power structures that produce and reproduce hierarchical distinctions, for example regarding race, (dis)ability, age, social class, and gender. This means that while all women face discrimination based on gender, some women experience multiple forms of discrimination, of which gender is only one component.

To date, there is no consensus on the terminology adopted, or on the relationship between direct and indirect violence. While some see it as an integral part of violence against women, this is contested by others. Much work needs to be done in this area to better understand, and ultimately measure, structural inequalities between women and men.

Direct Forms of Violence in Pakistan[4]

Domestic violence is the wilful intimidation, physical assault, battery, sexual assault, and/or other *abusive behaviour* as part of a systematic pattern of power and control perpetrated by one intimate partner against another. It includes physical violence, sexual violence, psychological violence and emotional abuse. The frequency and severity of domestic violence can vary dramatically; however, the one constant component of domestic violence is one partner's consistent efforts to maintain *power and control* over the other.

In her book *"Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Pakistan"* Rashida Patel described that domestic violence in Pakistan is deemed to be a private matter and something that does not belong in the courts. Women are usually ignorant of the fact that violence is a crime. Where the aggressor is a close relative, few women come forward to report the abuse to the police. Often they are threatened into being silent. Social taboos and lack of family support or shelter leaves women no alternative but to bear their lot.

She further mourned, in Pakistan, violence within the home is inflicted in various ways, including mental torture, by denying women food, often by threat of divorce of by taking another wife, separating the women from her infants, forced marriage, exchange marriages, or selling women in marriage, especially to much older men. Violence may include physical assault, verbal abuse, ravaging, burning, sexual abuse, rape and forced prostitution. It is not only the husband who inflicts violence in the home, often the wife is also violated by her in-laws. The girl-child or the women may be subjected to incest and rape in her own home, and forced to keep her lips sealed. Women may suffer violence in the home from the men of the family—the father, brother, husband, uncles and cousins—and at times also from the women of the family—the mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, mother and sisters.

Women in Pakistan live in a world structured around strict religious, family and tribal customs that essentially force them to live in submission and overall fear. In a nation where Islamic law dictates traditional family values and is enmeshed in the legal system, Pakistan's government, law and society discriminate against women and condone gender-based violence. Though Pakistan ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in 1996, herein referred to as the Women's Convention, it has failed to remove discriminatory laws against women. It has additionally failed to create new laws and to enforce existing laws that protect women from discrimination and violence. Pakistan has yet to integrate many of the Women's Convention's provisions into domestic law and educate the Pakistani population of its responsibilities under international law to promote women's rights. Due to these failures, women's rights in Pakistan are progressively deteriorating.

> Most unregistered cases of violence against women took place in Sindh where 605 cases were not registered.
>
> District Coordinator **Razia Malik**

[4] Violence against women in Pakistan and data regarding it, is retrieved from Rashida Patel's Book Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Pakistan

Women are subjected to discrimination and violence on a daily basis due to the cultural and religious norms that Pakistani society embraces. Pakistan's interpretation of Islam views women as needing protection, which essentially results in their suppression physically, mentally and emotionally. Though they constitute approximately fifty percent[5] of the population, women have a low percentage of participation in society outside of the family. According to the 2013 report by the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, *Employment to Population ratio* goes up from 46.5% in 2001-02 to 49.7% in 2005-06 and remains in the proximity of 50% during the rest of the period. The size of the ratio for males at the start (77.6% in 2001-02) is proximate to that at the end (77.0% in 2012-13) of the period with peak in 2005-06 (79.6%). Ratio of females start (13.6% in 2001-02) about one sixth of the ratio of males to fare at one fourth thereof at the end (22.1% in 2012-13).[6] Women are often confined to *"char divari,"* a term translated literally to mean "the four walls of the house." Men are the decision-makers, especially in family matters such as marriage and divorce.

Strict family, tribal and traditional Pakistani Islamic values dictate that women are considered property of male family members. Pakistani society essentially views a woman as being owned by her father or brothers before marriage, and her husband after marriage. This commodification of women is one of the main factors contributing to violence against women. If men believe that women are mere property, men are more inclined to feel that they may do as they please to women. Women are viewed as chattel. Therefore they are not allowed to offer their own opinions, as that is viewed as talking back. Nor can they disobey men. Women are taught to live in submission.

Women's Marriages

Even though Islamic law requires that both partners explicitly consent to marriage, women are often forced into marriages arranged by their fathers or tribal leaders. The Constitution of Pakistan does not require anyone older than 18 years old to have parental permission to marry. Additionally, Article 16 of the Women's Convention states that nations must ensure that women have an equal right to marry the partner of their choice. Though these laws exist in Pakistan, if a woman chooses her husband, it is often viewed as a shameful act of defiance against her family and defiles the honour of both her family and, if the family has arranged a husband, the future husband that the family has chosen. The marriage of a daughter is seen in terms of price and honour. Thus, a woman's honour, "purity" and manners are prized possessions controlled by men. Only few sections of Pakistani society allow for women to freely choose their husbands.

In Pakistan, domestic violence is considered a private matter, as it occurs in the family, and therefore not an appropriate focus for assessment or intervention. Women have to face discrimination and violence on a daily basis due to the cultural and religious norms that Pakistani society embraces. According to an estimate, approximately 70 to 90 percent of Pakistani women are subject to domestic violence.[7] Some common types of violence include honour killing, spousal abuse including marital rape, acid attacks and being burned by family members. Spousal abuse is rarely considered a crime socially unless it takes an extreme form of murder or attempted murder, which could range from driving a woman to suicide or engineering an accident. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), data on violence against women from January, 2004 to January, 2017 is undermentioned

[5] http://countrymeters.info/en/Pakistan#population_2017
[6] http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/Labour%20Force/publications/Pakistan_Employment_2013.pdf
[7] https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/12/06/women-and-domestic-abuse/

HRCP-Statistics on Violence Against Women 1/1/2004 to 1/1/2017

Incidents	Punjab	Sindh	Baluchistan	KPK	FATA	GB	Pakistan
Females Burning	1,808	182	47	85	2	0	2,124
Domestic violence	2,029	287	39	171	1	1	2,528
Honor Killing	4,540	2,937	639	785	1	13	8,915
Murder	---	1,769	337	---	4	3	2,113
Women kidnappings	6,511	426	33	169	0	1	7,140
Sexual violence	1,893	47	4	37	0	2	1,983
Suicide	6,491	1,602	151	588	27	3	8,862
Total	**23,272**	**7,250**	**1,250**	**1,835**	**35**	**23**	**33,665**

Women in Pakistan continue to be victims of this senseless violence. Aforementioned table helps to draw picture of violence against women throughout the country i.e. females burning 2,124 cases, domestic violence 2,528 cases, honor killing 8,915, murder 2,113, women kidnappings 7,140, sexual violence 1,983, suicide 8,862. Province vise data show that the overall affected women i.e. Punjab, 23,272 cases, Sindh 7,250 cases, Baluchistan 1,250, KPK 1,835, FATA 35, GB, 23 cases and in Pakistan 33,665 cases of violence against women occurred in different natures.

The scenario clearly reflects that violence against women is an enormous public health and social problem in Pakistan, which has never been appropriately dealt by the government. According to experts, the reason why violence against women is still on the high is that the behaviour of an individual human being is shaped by the social environment. Development is a result of interaction at various levels of social organisation that include personal factors, societal factors where the person lives and cultural factors. Thus, it must be noted that nothing will change until women are seen as other than subservient, compliant victims.

Historically, in Indo-Pak's tribal and rural cultures, women were treated as the property of men. Role of woman has been submission, to serve as a commodity and to sacrifice herself for the sake of values determined by men. Women were traded for reconciliation, forced into marriages for political reasons and attaining tribal peace. Also, they were disallowed to marry of their own will and denied legal rights of inheritance. Being killed for the sake of man's ethics and man-made values is an accepted norm in this part of the globe, even in this day and age.

A woman is still looked at through the prism of a male eye and thus always founding lacking. Change needs to arrive not only at the individual level, but at the societal level so that it changes the entire culture where the status of a woman should be based on humanitarian and Islamic grounds and not on male-developed unfair conventions.[8]

ANALYSIS OF PAKISTANI LAW AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Constitution

Gender equality is specifically guaranteed in the Constitution of Pakistan under Articles 25 (equality before law and equal protection under the law) and 27 (non-discrimination based on gender alone). The Constitution additionally affords the protection of marriage, family, the mother and the child as well as ensuring "full participation of women in all spheres of national life." Though these articles specifically prohibit gender discrimination and guarantee the equality of men and women, discriminatory social traditions and the Pakistani interpretation of Islamic law for the most part render Constitutional guarantees meaningless.

[8] https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/12/06/women-and-domestic-abuse/

Pakistan's Hudood Ordinances were promulgated in 1979 by the military regime of General Ziaul Haq. The most controversial of these are the two laws pertaining to sexual offences, i.e. the Zina and Qazf Ordinances. These laws created six distinct categories of sexual offences and assigned punishments for each:

1. zina liable to hadd;
2. zina liable to tazir;
3. zina-bil-jabr liable to hadd;
4. zina-bil-jabr liable to tazir;
5. qazf liable to hadd; and
6. qazf liable to tazir.

The introduction of these laws resulted in the offences of rape and adultery in the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) to be repealed as they were substituted by these offences. The primary distinction between the hadd and tazir offenses is that the hadd offences require a higher standard of proof than is needed in tazir as the Islamic punishments are more severe.

For example, under the Zina Ordinance, zina was liable to a hadd penalty if the accused confessed before the trial court or if there were four adult Muslim male witnesses who met an Islamic test of probity, i.e. tazkiyah-al-shuhood, who testified to being eyewitnesses. The hadd punishment given to such an adulterer was stoning to death while the penalty for a fornicator was public whipping of 100 lashes. However, if the evidence requirement for zina liable to hadd is not met but the crime is proven beyond a reasonable doubt then the tazir punishment of imprisonment for up to ten years can be given. Rape, now referred to as zina-bil-jabr, was similarly made liable to either the hadd or the tazir penalty depending on the type of proof available.

This law was considered intrinsically misogynistic since its application resulted in women being convicted of adultery/fornication if they reported a case of rape, as their report was treated as a confession. Furthermore, in addition to other problems created by these laws, their judicial application also made it easier to get away with crimes against women such as honor-killings and general degradation and humiliation of women in society.

After heated parliamentary debates between the liberal parliamentarians and the ulema a compromise in the shape of the Women's Protection Act, 2006 was reached.

Overtly misogynistic problems have hence been diluted, for example, the offence of zina liable to tazir and qazf liable to tazir have been removed, and however, an offence of fornication 'fornication'and false accusation of fornication' have been included in the PPC. It is to be noted that the offence of fornication as included in the PPC is defined almost identically as the tazir offence of zina and is punishable by imprisonment for up to five years and a fine.

Both offences of zina liable to hadd and fornication offences have been made cognizable only by a court, meaning that when a complaint is made of either offence, the police may not arrest the accused unless directed to do so by the court. This is to discourage one step of humiliation of women. The Act has also abolished the offence of zina-bil-jabr liable to hadd, instead introducing the offence of 'Rape' in the PPC, and has introduced the offence of marital rape.

Though this legislation does not redress all the problems introduced by the Hudood Ordinances, substantial changes have been made, which is a step in the right direction.[9]

Domestic Violence and Marriage

Domestic violence is not explicitly prohibited in Pakistani domestic law. Due to this lack of

[9] *Retrieved from:* https://www.dawn.com/news/626858

formal recognition, the judicial system, from police officials to Pakistani courts, tends to view domestic violence as a private affair and not open to legal scrutiny. Instances of domestic violence are usually dealt with under the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance of 1990. This ordinance is applicable to crimes that involve physical harm to another including murder, attempted murder and intentionally or unintentionally hurting another individual. Qisas, or retribution, authorizes punishment equal to the crime and has strict evidentiary requirements. If these evidentiary requirements are not met, the court itself can decide the punishment. On the other hand, the punishment of Diyat, or compensation, results in the perpetrator financially compensating the victim or the victim's family for the crime.

In cases involving domestic violence—if they ever make it to the courts—the perpetrator's punishment is often left to be decided by the victim or the family of the victim. The victim or member of family can ask that the perpetrator be punished or only that the victim or family members be compensated. This law has been criticized as being discriminatory against women. Under Article 306(c) of the Pakistani Penal Code, if a man murders his wife and they have children, her children cannot ask for Qisas (essentially the death penalty) for her murder. In these circumstances, the maximum sentence that can be given when a man murders his wife is fourteen years. Furthermore, many see a father financially compensating (Diyat) his children for the loss of their mother merely as "being a mockery."

Male members of family and husbands continue to use the defence of "grave and sudden provocation" in cases of honour killings and are thereby able to avoid punishment by death. **Under Article 302(c) of the Pakistani Penal Code,** if a member of family other than the husband, kills a woman he may receive a maximum sentence of twenty-five years. Additionally, many courts have ruled that if a man kills his wife who was found to be in a compromising situation or was thought to be committing adultery, the husband cannot be subjected to the death penalty because the victim was not "innocent." Oftentimes, women murdered in the name of honour are victims of mere allegations. A dead woman is not able to testify as to her innocence.

Furthermore, Diyat (financial compensation) is used often by family members as a payoff in cases of honour killings and essentially privatizes the crime. For example, if a man and woman are thought to be having an affair, the woman's family members view them both as dishonouring the family. Thus, the family considers both the man and woman as being punishable by death. The woman is often killed; however, the man can opt out of being killed by paying the murdered woman's husband or father what her "worth" was. Often the man pays the family of the victim with another woman such as his sister or cousin. If the issue is resolved through financial compensation, the judicial system often does not get involved. Women are viewed as property; therefore mere financial compensation serves for the loss of the wife or daughter.

The Constitution of Pakistan does not require anyone 18 years of age or older to have parental permission in order to marry. Islamic law also requires that both partners explicitly consent to marriage. However, the Pakistani judicial system often does not protect men and especially women from exercising their right to marry a partner of their choice when their family does not approve. Women (and sometimes men) are often killed in the name of honour if they choose to marry someone not approved of or selected by their tribal leader or a male member of family. The judicial system's failure to hold those accountable for honour killings perpetuates the killings of women who do not conform to their family's or tribe's wishes with respect to their choice of marriage partners.

In addition to the very real fear of being killed, if a woman chooses to marry against her family's or tribe's consent, she takes the chance of being prosecuted under the Zina Ordinance. Many women and men have married against their parents' wishes only to find themselves arrested by the police and being charged with zina by the woman's family. Many couples have had to prove to the Court that they are legally married in order to avoid being punished under zina.

The Judicial System

In addition to Pakistani laws being discriminatory, the judicial system condones and exacerbates the problem by failing to view violence against women as a serious violation of women's human rights. The judicial system, including but not limited to police officials, prosecutors, defence attorneys, judicial medical examiners and judges, is plagued with gender bias. This bias is reflected in the number of violent crimes against women that go unpunished, let alone investigated. The failure of the judicial system to protect women who are victims of violence as well as its failure to prosecute the perpetrators of this violence has perpetuated society's views that women's rights are less valuable than men's rights.

Gender bias within the judicial system begins with the police. Police officials often fail to file reports, lose reports, or even "persuade" women not to file a report through harassment or even abuse. In the unlikely event that a report is even filed, the police often conduct improper investigations or fail to even investigate the crime at all. As a result of these inadequate or non-existent investigations, men who have been reported to have committed these violent acts are often not arrested or charged with the crime.

A prevailing view among police officials is that women who have been raped are either scorned lovers or fear family reprisals, thus they "fabricate" a story to frame the men. Police officials often view domestic violence, including honour killings, as a private matter to be resolved within the family or tribe, not the criminal justice system. An example of the police's bias towards women resonates from the statement to Human Rights Watch by a chief officer in Lahore:

> Women have a lot of rights... It is wrong of courts to believe women so that the poor man ends up in jail.

Though Pakistan has women police stations that are staffed by female personnel, gender bias remains rampant within the police force. Police personnel receive little, if any, gender sensitization training to assist female victims of violence and discrimination. Women are left fearing that if they are brave enough to make a report to the police, the police will harass them or turn them away.

Important Honour Killings

In the high profile case of the murder of Samia Sawar, though there were several witnesses to the honour killing and overwhelming evidence as to the perpetrators' guilt, the parents and uncle of Samia have not been prosecuted for their daughter's murder. However, due to Samia's father being a prominent figure in the community, the police charged Samia's lawyers, Hina Jilani and Asma Jahangir, with "kidnapping" his daughter. This charge has been viewed as ludicrous by the human rights community since Samia was receiving legal assistance in order to divorce her abusive husband. Samia's father has additionally "demanded that Hina Jilani and Asma Jahangir be dealt in accordance with 'tribal and Islamic law'" and be arrested for "misleading women in Pakistan and contributing to the country's bad image abroad." These

lawyers continue to receive death threats by those who believe that the honour killing was acceptable. The police have yet to prosecute those responsible for these death threats.

Medical doctors for the State, who are responsible for collecting evidence of rape, also tend to be biased against the victims. Similar to the police officials, many doctors believe that if a woman does not have signs of resistance such as bruises and scratches, then the rape did not occur. An unmarried woman's virginity is also used to determine whether it is likely that a woman was raped or not. If it appears that an unmarried woman was not a virgin before the rape, they often believe that she was not raped. A woman's sexual history is often scrutinized and often determines whether the judicial system believes the victim or the perpetrator.

In those rare instances that the cases actually make it into the court system, judges often issue gender-biased decisions. Many judges uphold the "laws of Islam" (as interpreted by Pakistan) over the Constitution's guarantee of non-discrimination and equality under the law. Gender bias and the enforcement of Islamic law by judges, specifically concerning the issue of honour killings, has been explained by Human Rights Watch in their 1999 report on violence against women in Pakistan:

> *The court explained that the Koranic verse 34 of Sura Al-Nisa establishes men as the "custodians of women;" hence a man who kills another man for defiling the honor of his wife or daughter is protecting his property and acting in self-defense. Quoting Sura Al-Nisa, the judge concluded, "I am of the view that the appellant, as the custodian of honor of his wife, had the right to kill the deceased while he was engaged in [a] sex act with his wife and he had not earned liability of qisas or tazir or even diyat, and is hereby acquitted.*

Many judges give men the benefit of the doubt and do not weigh women's testimony equally, therefore specifically violating Articles 25 and 27 of the Constitution of Pakistan. Custom more than often prevails in the courtroom rather than justice. In cases of honour killings, judges often rule that the men were "suddenly and severely provoked," often drastically reducing the killer's sentence or, as we see from the abovementioned quote, acquitting him altogether of the murder. In the case of "bride burning," courts have acquitted many men by ruling that the victims' deaths were accidents, such as due to a stove catching fire. Of the sixty "bride-burning" cases that made it to the prosecution stage (though 1,600 cases were actually reported), only two resulted in convictions.

THEORIES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN[10]

Theories of causation inform our understanding of prevention, prediction and treatment. Where *prevention* is concerned, evidence strongly points to the need to intervene early with infants and children who experience or are exposed to violence in their homes. This body of knowledge underlines the imperative of intervening with parents and future parents to break the cycle of intergenerational transmission of violence. In terms of *prediction*, the literature can aid in identifying factors associated with varying degrees of risk: who needs treatment, how much do they need, was risk attenuated by the intervention, will they offend in the community? It focuses primarily on the third role of theory: definition of *treatment* targets and approaches. Explanations for family violence can be organized into five groups: biological/organic, psychopathological, family systems, social learning, and feminist.

[10] Retrieved from http://www.lfcc.on.ca/maleviolence.pdf

Biological Theories

Biological theories of criminal behaviour have existed for over a century, cycling in and out of fashion. Where family violence is concerned, two dominant explanations are observed. The first is that head injury in men can or could cause them to be violent to family members. The second approach, a gene-based explanation, focuses on sexual jealousy and male efforts to ensure sexual propriety over their partners. Woman's abuse is seen as a "mate-retention tactic" which will be used only under the right set of circumstances, such as when a man senses his wife could attract and keep a better partner. Empirical evidence for these controversial ideas is not strong but most theorists would acknowledge that biological factors can play a role in some cases. Frontal-lobe epilepsy might be an example. However, their applicability to the field of family violence is probably far more limited than their proponents would argue. Attempts to predict violence using biological variables will only be valid when a host of other non-biological factors are added, indicating that the perspective is too reductionist. Treatment implications, mostly centring on pharmacology and other medical interventions, are limited and unlikely to be effective in isolation from other efforts. However, some researchers are attempting to devise a typology of batterers based upon physiological arousal so neurological assessments may one day be used on a more routine basis.

Psychopathological Theory

Psychopathology, the second category of explanation for family violence, focuses as with the last on individual factors but with greater emphasis given to psychodynamic than organic variables. Many researchers and practitioners who adopt this perspective focus on childhood and other experiential events that have shaped men to become batterers. In this view, family violence may co-exist in a constellation of other interpersonal problems and functional deficits could be evident in non-family settings such as the workplace. Empirical evidence in support of this view takes the form of surveys of populations of batterers that find high levels of certain psychiatric diagnoses, specifically borderline and anti-social personality disorders. In this view, violent reactions and patterns are longstanding and firmly entrenched and treatment must be intensive and individualized. The assumption is that psycho-educational approaches will be insufficient. At least some time must be spent exploring the historical origins of current behaviour by responding to past shame, guilt and traumas. Through experimentation and follow-up, the specific treatment techniques are now being refined. Some critics believe this approach erodes years of advancements in seeing male violence as a power and control technique reinforced by society. Others argue that these disorders among batterers are over diagnosed. Another problem is that treatment of personality disorders is not always associated with high levels of success so risk management may be the best approach for some men.

The Systems Approach

In the *systems approach*, the family is a dynamic organization made up of interdependent components. The behaviour of one member and the probability of a reoccurrence of that behaviour are affected by the responses and feedback of other members. Family violence researchers using this perspective look at the communication, relationship and problem-solving skills of couples where violence occurs. Because both partners play some (not necessarily equal) role, any intervention must involve both of them. Research examines relationship variables in violent compared with non-violent couples. Treatment takes the form of marital or family counselling sometimes preceded by a period of gender-specific groups. A strength of this approach is that it can readily accommodate female-to-male violence and child abuse. Control is

an important but non-gendered variable. Criticisms are many. Women are blamed for their own victimization, minimizing the degree of responsibility of the men and potentially placing themselves at risk for further abuse. While systems theorists often look at the multiple and nested systems in which individuals live—beyond the family to culture, religion, neighbourhood, community standards, etc. the work reviewed here did not. Moreover, the significant power imbalances that typically exist in violent relationships may not be attended to by all therapists.

The Social Learning Theory

From the *social learning* perspective, children observe the consequences of the behaviour of significant others and learn which behaviours, even socially inappropriate ones, achieve desired results without drawing a negative sanction. When inappropriate behaviours are modelled for young children—especially if reinforced elsewhere such as in the media—these patterns of interaction can become entrenched and will be replicated in other social interactions. Interventions based upon the social learning perspective are, therefore, rooted in efforts to prevent the exposure of children to negative role models and the promotion of skill development in those who have been so exposed. Empirical support for this view takes two forms: evaluation of cognitive-behavioural batterers programmes; and research, first retrospective and now prospective, that finds high rates of family violence perpetrated by men exposed to violence in their childhood. Further support can be found in the literature on criminal behaviour in general where cognitive-behavioural interventions have received widespread endorsement. However, social learning in isolation from other theories does not explain why the intergenerational transmission of violence is not universal and, conversely, why some batterers do not report histories of exposure to violence in their families of origin.

The Feminist Approach

While there is no one *feminist approach* to family violence, most theoreticians in this field look to the power imbalances that create and perpetuate violence against women. These imbalances exist at a societal level in patriarchal societies where structural factors prevent equal participation of women in the social, economic and political systems. Societal level imbalances are reproduced within the family when men exercise power and control over women, one form of which is violence. Interventions are targeted at a broad range of factors including day-care, pay equity, suffrage, social resources, and law reforms. Interventions with women focus on empowerment and the recognition of power and control dynamics. Empirical support of this view takes three forms: First, qualitative documentation of women's experiences is used to develop models such as the cycle of violence and the power and control wheel. In turn, these models have utility when applied to advocacy and clinical work with women. Second, cross-cultural research examines the prevalence of family violence across cultures with different levels of patriarchy. The third technique is to evaluate batterers programmes designed using feminist principles. Feminist-inspired programmes may be the most common type of batterer treatment, typically using a group format with education in the dynamics of power and control and on egalitarian relationships. Critics believe the confrontation of abused men with the inappropriateness of their actions will not necessarily translate into changes in behaviour. In the group approach, the idiosyncratic characteristics of the men such as their own abuse histories are not necessarily dealt with.

Each theory provides, by definition, a logical explanation of its proposed determinants of family violence and each one has some empirical support. However, no one theory emerged as having unequivocal support. Instead, calls were found for integrative approaches that

incorporated aspects of each. We are reminded that human behaviour is a complex phenomenon and there are no quick and easy ways to explain it. The richness of different perspectives also underscores the need to avoid simplistic responses and to work against family violence on many fronts, with individuals at risk—including child welfare interventions, treatment programs for children, advocacy with abused women and treatment of abusive men—as well as on a broader plain with public education, zero-tolerance policies in public institutions, preventative work with school children, efforts to control violence in the media, and measures to overcome the structural obstacles that prevent the participation of women as equal players in society.

In summary, several key trends and observations were noted in the theoretical literature:

- explanations of family violence typically focus on societal factors, or family variables or the characteristics of individuals-;
- long vilified as too reductionist and apolitical, interpersonal and intrapersonal explanations of family violence lay behind several new treatment approaches-;
- no one theoretical approach has sufficient empirical support to distinguish it as having the greatest explanatory power but each contributes a valuable perspective, underlining the complexity of the issue and the absence of easy solutions-;
- an increasing number of theoreticians are attempting to provide explanations that integrate variables measured at the societal, family and individual levels-; and
- perceived differences between the different theoretical approaches may be exaggerated and we need to focus on the commonalities.

Each theoretical orientation has implications for intervention with men who are violent to members of family, including the site of intervention and the target variables for intervention (see Table 1). In general, this is a field where the link between theory and practice is usually quite explicit. As can be inferred from table 1, some explanations of family violence are more amenable to correctional practice than others. Probably because the empirical testing of batterer treatments is still at an early stage, it is not possible to isolate one program type that distinguished itself from all others. Rather, the trend we observed in the literature is toward eclectic approaches that address the issue of male violence from a broad understanding of the multiple determinants of the behaviour. This trend makes it difficult to find experimental studies of programmes drawn purely from one theory. The issue of "does treatment work for batterers?" is still on the agenda, because statistically significant differences between treated men and controls are not necessarily reflected in meaningfully high rates of improvement among treated men.

Implication for Intervention of Five Examplanations of Family Violence

Theory Group	Site(s) of Intervention	Targets
Biological	Individual men	organic factors
Psychopathology	Individual men	psychiatric symptomatology
Systems	Couple and/or family	interpersonal skills
Social Learning	Groups, media, social norms, individuals	thinking styles, behaviours, interpersonal skills
Feminist	Social norms and attitudes, laws and policies, structural obstacles to women's equality, men, etc.	attitudes to women, power and control dynamics of relationships, gender inequalities (economic, political, etc.

Source:[11]

[11] *Retrieved from http://www.lfcc.on.ca/maleviolence.pdf*

While evidence indicates that programmes based on the power and control model of battering predominate in practice, the eclectic approach is clearly a trend found in the literature, reflecting programme refinements made in response to previous evaluations. However, a great deal more evaluation is required before we can safely answer the question "what works?" and the newer more relevant question of "what works for whom?" The second question arises in the context of efforts to develop a typology of batterers, to divide this heterogeneous group into categories useful for program planning. The one-size-fits-all approach to batterer treatment may partially explain the lack of overwhelming success in treatment outcomes.

STRATEGIES TO ELIMINATE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN[12]

A Framework to Prevent Violence against Women by UN-Women

Across the world, violence against women and girls remains one of the most serious human rights violations, both a cause and consequence of gender inequality and discrimination. Its continued presence is one of the clearest markers of societies out of balance; the rise of voices that condemn it as unacceptable is a signal for hope of change, and an entry point for work to prevent it. The focus of this framework is prevention: the steps that, through concerted action, we can take to tackle the underlying structures that still permit early marriage, female genital mutilation, the turning of a blind eye to domestic violence, the impunity of rapists, the vulnerability of a teenager reading abusive texts in her bedroom, the discriminatory and hostile attitude of service providers, including in police stations or courtrooms to women's testimony of violence experienced.

Violence against women (VAW) manifests in different forms including, but not limited to:

- intimate partner violence
- non-partner sexual assault
- forced pregnancy and abortion
- trafficking
- so-called 'honor crimes'
- sexual harassment and exploitation
- stalking
- sorcery/witchcraft-related violence
- gender-related killings/femicide/feminicide
- female genital mutilation
- child, early and forced marriage

Prevention as part of a comprehensive approach

Addressing VAW involves a continuum of interdependent and mutually-reinforcing interventions. While they are conceptualized in different ways by different organizations, the following continuum is used to underpin this framework:

- Preventing violence before it occurs (that is, preventing 'new cases' of VAW).
- Preventing the recurrence of violence (that is, preventing women from being re-victimized and men from perpetrating further violence).

[12] *http://www.unwomen.org/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2015/prevention_framework_unwomen_nov2015.pdf?vs=5223*

- Preventing or limiting the impacts of VAW, through the provision of short- and long-term care and support.

systems approach to prevent VAW and its consequences. There is considerable overlap and interdependence between levels of prevention, and between activity implemented before and after violence has occurred. The importance of an effective response system and links between the response and prevention systems are noted as crucial foundations for prevention. However, responses to violence are the subject of existing policy frameworks. While ongoing reform of the response system through these existing frameworks is critical, such reform is not the focus of the framework.

Focus of the Framework and its place in a Comprehensive Systems Approach to Eliminating VAW

	Prevention	Early intervention	Response
	Focuses on the population as a whole, and the range of settings in which gender relations and violent behavior are shaped, to address factors leading to or protecting against VAW	Focuses on individuals and groups with a high risk of perpetration/being a victim of VAW and the factors contributing to that risk	Focuses on those affected by violence and on building systemic, organizational and community capacity to respond to them
Preventing violence it before it occurs	Build social structures, norms and practices that protect against VAW and/or reduce the risk of it occurring	Mitigate the impact of prior exposure to risk factors and build protective factors	Contribute to social norms against VAW by demonstrating accountability for violence and women's right to remedy and support
Preventing recurring violence	Build social structures, norms and practices that protect against and/or reduce the risk of recurring exposure to/perpetration of violence		Provide remedy and support to women affected by violence and hold individual men using it accountable. In demonstrating this, it also strengthens social norms against VAW
Preventing long-term harm from violence	Build social structures, norms and practices that maximize the prospects of rebuilding lives after violence, minimize its impacts and reduce the likelihood of recurrence in the longer term		Support to individuals to prevent negative impacts of violence, promote rebuilding and reduce the likelihood of recurrence in the longer term
Examples	Building women's economic independence, while working with both men and women to strengthen equal and respectful relationships. Shifting norms toward gender relations and VAW through mutually reinforcing group education, community mobilization and local media activities.	A psycho-educational programme for children who are exposed to parental violence to address the consequences of this exposure as a risk factor for future perpetration or victimization.	A workplace policy to strengthen support for women workers affected by IPV (e.g. paid leave provisions, co-worker sensitivity training). Legislative and procedural reform to strengthen access to justice for victims of sexual assault.

= the focus of this framework

Preventing violence against women using a human rights-based approach

This framework is underpinned by a human rights-based approach. Such an approach-:

- Asserts that VAW is a form and a manifestation of discrimination against women, which impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- Places women's human rights, including their rights to physical integrity, agency and autonomy at the centre of prevention efforts.
- Ensures that measures to prevent violence are consistent with other rights of women (e.g. their right to freedom of movement and to full participation in education, employment, entrepreneurship, politics and society more broadly).
- Recognizes and observes the obligation to ensure compliance with agreed human rights standards and ensure accountability for violations.
- Seeks to empower women and strengthen their capacities to claim their rig hts.

- Ensures that affected communities and stakeholders, in particular women, are engaged in the planning and implementation of prevention activities. The aim is to support self-advocacy and build the capacity of groups to prevent VAW, rather than treating them as passive recipients.
- Gives priority to preventing violence affecting women who suffer multiple forms of discrimination and face a higher risk of violence or who are more vulnerable to its consequences. This involves targeting activity to these groups of women, and to risk and protective factors affecting them. It also involves making sure that activity designed for the whole population reaches and is relevant to high-risk groups.

There is a strong normative framework obliging governments to take comprehensive, strategic and well-resourced action to prevent VAW. While all human rights instruments apply equally to women and men, some key documents that are specifically relevant to women's right to live free from violence or the threat of violence include the following:

- Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111)
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979)
- CEDAW General Recommendation No. 19 (1992): Violence against women
- Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, building on the requirements in CEDAW
- Agreed conclusions of the fifty-seventh session of the Commission on the Status of Women (2013).

A theory of change approach

A number of logic models may be developed on the basis of a single theory of change. A theory of change approach has a number of benefits, but in particular it:

- Makes assumptions and goals explicit;
- Provides a clear basis for evaluation;
- Promotes accountability; and
- Can help to engender donors' support.

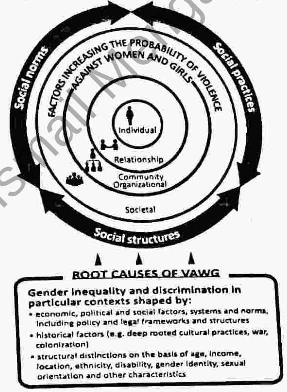
An ecological approach[13]

The framework is based on an ecological approach. Initially pioneered by Bronfenbrenner in 1975 to strengthen understanding of child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994), the ecological approach has subsequently been adopted internationally to understand a range of complex issues; among them the challenge of preventing VAW. This approach involves considering factors contributing to the problem at different levels. While these have been conceptualized in different ways in various models, for the purposes of this framework, four levels are included, as illustrated in the following Figure. These are the individual, relationship, community or organizational and societal levels. The ecological approach is based on the understanding that factors at each of the levels act in a mutually reinforcing way.

[13] *http://www.unwomen.org//media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2015/prevention_framework_unwomen_nov2015.pdf?vs=5223, Pg. 12*

Understanding violence against women

Figure 1: Understanding violence against women



The Ecological Approach – Policy and Programme Implications

- Multiple factors need to be taken into account when preventing VAW.
- It is important to consider factors at each of the ecological levels and the relationships between and among them. For example, individual behaviors, attitudes and beliefs are shaped by people's immediate organizational and community environments as well as by influences at the broader societal level. At the same time, these broader structures and cultures are influenced by the attitudes and behaviors of individuals.
- A coordinated and consistent approach is needed to ensure that activities at one ecological level (for example, respectful relationships and human rights promotion among individuals) are supported and reinforced by activities at other layers (for example, adoption and implementation of laws and policies that promote the human rights of women and address VAW and discrimination). This mutually reinforcing approach has been identified as especially important in the prevention of VAW.
- Different sectors will need to be engaged to address the challenge of preventing VAW.
- Many actors will have a role in preventing VAW. For example, a teacher (working primarily with individuals) may not be able to lead change to laws that discriminate against women and girls. They are well positioned, however, through their teaching methods, to promote non-violent, respectful relationships.

Emerging Practices to Prevent Vaw

Possible intervention or strategy	Rationale
Legislative, policy and institutional reform	
Legal and policy reforms designed to address specific aspects of human rights and gender inequality that are established in research to be strongly linked with VAW (e.g. Family law reform).	There are established linkages between certain dimensions of these macro-level conditions and VAW (e.g. the availability of no-fault divorce).
Multi-strategy approaches with media outlets to promote the responsible portrayal of women, girls and VAW in the media (e.g. involving advocacy, training, guidelines, self-regulation and taking into account the need to protect press freedoms).	Evidence that the media influences attitudes and social norms towards gender and VAW (Gauntlett 2002; Lind 2004, Flood and Pease 2009; Pease and Flood 2008).
Advocacy to prevent VAW	
Skills-training and capacity-building for organizations and community members advocating for gender equality and the elimination of VAW.	
Leadership programmes that identify and support influential, non-violent individuals to 'speak out' and play a leadership role regarding gender inequality and the elimination of VAW. These may be targeted to prominent individuals or be delivered through informal peer groups (e.g. among young people.	Social norms theory proposes that the views of prominent others are influential in shifting social norms (Webster et al. 2014).
Formal and informal education	
Supporting individuals from particular sub-populations to educate their peers. This may be referred to as peer education or community-based educational dialogues (see for example UNICEF, 2013).	Qualitative evaluations show some promise in peer education approaches, especially among young people.
Programmes to support young people to engage critically with media and popular culture representations of women and gender relations, often referred to as strengthening media literacy.	Based on the understanding that the negative influences of the media on constructions of masculinities and femininities and on behaviors can be lessened by encouraging young people to engage in a critical way with the media.
Mobilizing and engaging communities and organizations	
Organizational auditing processes to identify and address structures and practices contributing to gender inequality and VAW. Involves developing audit tools and processes.	Provide a systematic approach and a focus for engaging organizations in a process of reflection and reform. Also applicable to institutional reform (above).

for engaging staff, community members and volunteers in using these to reflect on organizational cultures and processes and plan reform. Inducements may be used to encourage or support compliance (e.g. funding, awards)	
Skills development	
Programmes to support the skills of parents (both men and women) to promote gender equality and non-violence in their parenting practices	Individual attitudes and behaviours pertaining to violence and gender relations are established in childhood, adolescence in particular, and the family is a key influence
Relationship level interventions for equitable and respectful relationships.	Interventions to support couples in maintaining equitable and respectful relationships have been successfully implemented (e.g. among couples expecting a first child). There may be some potential in such programmes as preventive measures at the population or sub-population level.
Support to mitigate the consequences of prior exposure to violence	
Individual and group programmes to mitigate the psychological consequences of experiencing other forms of violence (e.g. racially motivated and historical violence experienced by Indigenous populations, war-related trauma and torture, prison violence).	Exposure to these forms of violence is associated with an increased risk of perpetrating VAW by men, and for some forms, being a victim among women. There are various programmes established to mitigate the impacts of these forms of violence (e.g. Indigenous Men's Healing Circles in Australia and Canada). The primary purpose of these programmes is to address the impacts of prior violence for the populations concerned. However, the additional benefit of a reduction in the risk of perpetration of VAW is a theoretical possibility. There is also the potential to integrate content and activities to prevent VAW into these programmes.

CHAPTER 9

CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY

"An intensive analysis of an individual unit (such as a person or community) stressing developmental factors in relation to environment." **(Merriam-Webster)**

A case study is an account of an activity, event or problem that contains a real or hypothetical situation and includes the complexities we would encounter in the workplace. Case studies are used to help us see, how the complexities of real life influence decisions. Analyzing a case study requires to practice applying knowledge and thinking skills to a real situation.

According to Kardos and Smith (1979) a good case has the following features:[1]

- It is taken from real life (true identities may be concealed).
- It consists of many parts and each part usually ends with problems and points for discussion. There may not be a clear cut off point to the situation.
- It includes sufficient information for the reader to treat problems and issues.
- It is believable for the reader (the case contains the setting, personalities, sequence of events, problems and conflicts).

MUKHTARAN MAI

Introduction

Physical assault, harassment and rape–all point towards the massive sexual disequilibrium that exists in our tremendously patriarchal societies today. The story of Mukhtaran Mai who was gang-raped by men in her village, points towards another dimension as one comes to grip with the grim reality that even those women who have tried to fight back have been systematically suppressed.[2]

On June 22, 2002, a tribal council in the Pakistani village of Meerwali, in district Muzaffargarh in the province of Punjab, was in session to resolve an issue between two tribes. Members of the village's Mastoi tribe had accused a twelve-year-old boy of another tribe of having an affair with an older woman from the socially-higher Mastoi tribe. The boy denied the accusation and explained that three Mastoi men had kidnapped and sodomized him earlier in the day, and when he had threatened to report the incident, they concocted the story about the affair. The boy's father appeared before the tribal council to address the matter. Worried about her father, the boy's elder sister attended the proceedings as well.

[1] https://student.unsw.edu.au/what-case-study

[2] Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4416839

The council decided that the boy should marry the Mastoi woman and that, in exchange, a woman from the boy's family would marry someone from the Mastoi tribe. Although the boy's father accepted the decision, villagers from the Mastoi tribe rejected it and formed their own council to determine whether the boy had dishonoured their tribe. The boy's sister appeared before the Mastoi council and apologized for her brother's alleged behaviour; however, the Mastoi council ignored the apology and decided that its tribe could regain its lost honour only by dishonouring the boy's family. In order to balance the twelve-year old boy's alleged affair with the Mastoi woman, the council ordered men of the Mastoi tribe to gang-rape the boy's sister, Mukhtaran Mai.

The Rape and the Trial

Four men volunteered to carry out the punishment and gang-raped thirty-year-old Mukhtaran Mai. One of the men grabbed her and forcefully took her to a hut. Armed men of the Mastoi tribe restrained Mukhtaran Mai's father and uncle as they tried to help her. Her pleas to the tribal council to save her were futile—the four men gang-raped Mukhtaran Mai for more than one hour, yet none of the hundreds of villagers attempted to stop the crime. After the men raped her, they stripped Mukhtaran Mai of her clothing and threw her out of the hut. As she walked naked through the village to her home, her father draped her with a shawl.

The local police knew of the rape; however, they initially did nothing. They only accepted an incident report a week after the gang-rape from Mukhtaran Mai's father after a delegation of lawyers met the police and insisted on the registration of the complaint. A few days later, news of the incident spread outside the village of Meerwali and it slowly began to receive national and worldwide attention.

Pakistan's President, General Pervez Musharraf ordered the arrest of the culprits, and Mukhtaran Mai was awarded Rs500,000 by the government as compensation for her ordeal, which she used to begin setting up a school in her village, which she felt would help address the many social inequities in Meerwala.[3] The Chief Justice of the Pakistani Supreme Court publicly condemned the rape and, disappointed with the way authorities handled the matter, directed Punjab Police to update the Supreme Court with the police's advancements in the case.

By the middle of July 2002, nearly a month after the rape, the police found and arrested fourteen people involved in the crime, including the four rapists. Recognizing the severity of the circumstances and wanting a swift resolution, the authorities sent the case to an anti-terrorism court, which ensures a speedy trial and is empowered to hear heinous crimes, such as gang-rape. The trial for the fourteen men began a week later, and lasted a total of three weeks. Although most rape victims in Pakistan reportedly commit suicide after their ordeal or simply accept their fate, Mukhtaran Mai testified against the perpetrators, providing the court with the details of the rape. In August 2002, the judge in the anti-terrorism court found six people guilty—the four rapists and two members of the tribal council who had ordered the rape—and sentenced them to death. The men appealed against the decision.

The Appellate Decision

In March 2005, more than two-and-a-half years after the trial court's decision, the Lahore High Court ("High Court"), serving as an appellate court, overturned the convictions of five of the six men and commuted the sixth man's death sentence to life imprisonment. The High Court

[3] https://tribune.com.pk/story/154316/mukhtaran-mai-a-story-of-extraordinary-courage/

cited insufficient evidence and faulty investigation as reasons for its decision to overturn the convictions and further stated that the prosecution failed to prove that the tribal council had ordered the gang-rape. Human rights and women's rights organizations around the world were shocked at the High Court's decision. Within Pakistan, hundreds of men and women rallied with Mukhtaran Mai in protest of the acquittals. Despite danger to herself and her family, Mukhtaran Mai declared that she would continue to fight and would appeal the case to the Supreme Court, the nation's highest court. Both Mukhtaran Mai and the Pakistani government filed appeals in the Supreme Court.

Shariat Court

However, before the Supreme Court could get involved, the Federal Shariat Court ("Shariat Court"), another Pakistani appellate court unrelated to the High Court, made an uncommon intervention and suspended the High Court's decision. The Shariat Court, an Islamic court comprised of eight Muslim judges, has exclusive jurisdiction to hear appeals from criminal court decisions on matters involving Hudood laws—laws that are specific to certain crimes including zina, which is unlawful sexual intercourse. As Mukhtaran Mai's rape fell under the category of zina, the Shariat Court argued that it was the only court that had jurisdiction. The Shariat Court also stated that the Pakistani Constitution granted it the power to suspend any judgement of any criminal court until it made its decision on the case. The Shariat Court, therefore, suspended the High Court's decision and ordered Mukhtaran Mai and all of the fourteen men initially arrested in the case to attend a new hearing.

Fearing a continued struggle between the competing jurisdictions of the High Court and the Shariat Court, the Supreme Court of Pakistan took over the case, ordering all files in the case to be sent to the Supreme Court. However, it did not explicitly suspend the High Court's decision overturning the convictions of the five men. A district and sessions judge ordered the release of the acquitted five men.

Shortly thereafter, by the end of March 2005, the acquitted rapists returned to their village, once again living near Mukhtaran Mai. The police warned the men to stay away from Mukhtaran Mai and the government sent police officers to the village for her safety. Once again, despite dangers to herself and her family, Mukhtaran Mai continued to voice her opinion against the release of her rapists—she met with members of the Pakistani government, requesting that the police re-arrest the men until the Supreme Court issued its decision. The government heard her pleas and the police re-arrested the four rapists, who remained in custody till the Supreme Court's decision.

Mukhtaran Mai's case has brought Pakistan's judicial system and, more specifically, the many problems of the system, into the world's spotlight. The judicial system shares the spotlight with the nation's tribal councils, whose harsh decisions have come to light in, particularly because of Mukhtaran Mai's case. A close examination of the justice and tribal council systems is required to gain insight into why tribal councils are still prevalent throughout the country.

Glimpse into Pakistan's Judicial System

At the head of Pakistan's judicial structure is its Supreme Court, which can hear appeals from all lower appellate or special courts. The lower appellate courts consist of the Federal Shariat Court, four High Courts (one in each of Pakistan's four provinces), as well as the Services Appellate Tribunals. At the trial level, the district of every province has a criminal court and a civil court. In addition to these courts, Pakistan also has Special Courts and Tribunals, established to deal with very specific cases, such as one court that deals with bank offenses and one that deals with cases involving corrupt judges.

Tribal councils also serve as part of the official judiciary in some parts of Pakistan. Despite the existence of multiple courts, each with very specific jurisdictions, the system fails to provide for all its citizens sufficiently. The reasons for such failure must be evaluated collectively rather than separately. One problem within the system is the ongoing struggle to separate the jurisdiction of the High Court from that of the Federal Shariat Court, as Pakistani law is based on both Anglo-Saxon and Islamic law. Mukhtaran Mai's case is a token example of this struggle. The Lahore High Court had appellate jurisdiction to hear her case, but the Shariat Court also had jurisdiction over the matter because the case involved a crime under Islamic law. Furthermore, not only is the judiciary tasked with resolving conflicts between the two types of laws, the reliance on Anglo-Saxon laws creates a problem in and of itself. Because most witnesses testify in the vernacular and such testimonies are then recorded into English, the translation may lose some of the witnesses' actual testimonies. Additionally, many who live in villages are illiterate and often sign their statements without being able to read what has been written.

In addition to the language and literacy barriers, a lack of trust in the official system further complicates the relationship of the average Pakistani citizen with the nation's judicial system. Citizens are unable to depend on police officers, many of whom have the reputation of being corrupt. Furthermore, Pakistan's judicial system suffers from a backlog of pending cases, causing the process to be very time-consuming. For example, those convicted in 2002 in Mukhtaran Mai's case appealed the decision immediately; however, the High Court did not hear the appeal for more than two years. Moreover, once a case does reach the courts, citizens have little faith in the courts because they often fail to punish perpetrators.

Tribal Councils within Pakistan

Tribal councils within Pakistan offer some refuge from the problems of the judiciary to those living in Pakistan's remote areas. However, Mukhtaran Mai's rape has highlighted one of the biggest problems that Pakistan faced in history: the role of the tribal councils within Pakistan's judiciary and the abuse of their power. Until Mukhtaran Mai's case, the Pakistani government had largely ignored the harsh decisions and the illegal existence of tribal councils, which continue to serve as a facet of the judicial system.

In some of Pakistan's remote areas and villages, such as Meerwali, justice can be a scarce commodity. In such areas, which typically lack an official judicial structure, tribal councils provide an informal system of justice. While these councils may be beneficial for many Pakistani citizens living under their rule, the abusive nature of the tribal councils is becoming more widely known, leading many human rights activists to characterize the existing tribal system as barbaric.

Pakistan's Constitution mandates direct federal control in some tribal areas of the country. In other areas, including the province of Punjab where the gang-rape occurred, Pakistan has formally abolished the councils. Yet, in many of these areas, tribal councils continue to operate in violation of Pakistani law while Pakistan ignores their continued existence.

The need for the tribal council system can be attributed to various factors. First, Pakistan's troubled judiciary offers a vacuum that tribal councils can fill. In contrast to the problems of the official judicial system, Pakistan's tribal systems offer an informal, quick and usually trusted system of laws. Tribal councils set the rules by which the people must live and serve as lawful bodies for the villagers, judging all conflicts. A tribal council consists of elders from the village before which it sits. Thus, tribal council members are respected not only for their position on the tribal council but also because they are the elders of the community. Furthermore, because tribal systems are deeply rooted in tradition, the laws of the councils are passed down orally and are

not codified. This lack of structure provides quick access to justice because the council is within their village and before their own people. Additionally, unlike judges in Pakistan's official judicial system, a tribal head can initiate proceedings if he knows of a pending conflict or someone can call his attention to a conflict, rather than waiting for a party to file the case.

While the tribal head can decide upon the resolution alone, a major conflict may require the entire tribal council to convene, such as in the case of Mukhtaran Mai. The council usually convenes immediately and all parties in a case are invited to present their testimony to the council. As opposed to the lengthy appeals process in the judiciary system, once the council decides a matter, a party objecting to the decision can do so before the council as soon as the council has rendered its decision. The tribal council's purpose is to regain the balance lost by the inciting incident, to resolve disputes between families and to restore peace in the community. Therefore, people who are ruled by the laws of the tribal council often trust and respect the council's decision.

Despite the many positives that tribal councils may offer, apparent abuses of power have become known in recent years. Decisions have ordered the perpetration of crimes, such as gang-rapes and even murder, in the name of resolving disputes and/or restoring honour. The reasons that give tribal councils an advantage over the judicial system are the same reasons that have led to its abuse of power and continued existence.

While it is true that a party may appeal a tribal council's decision immediately upon the rendering of such decision, tribal councils are usually the only representation of justice in such areas, so the party would appeal to the same tribal council. A tribal council would rarely change its own decision, thereby rendering the appeals process futile. Furthermore, the mind-set of tribal people is a significant factor in encouraging the rule of tribal councils. Due to the tribal councils' historical role, many people affected by the councils do not question its existence or decisions. Therefore, the federal government is unable to enforce its power even in areas that are supposed to be under federal judicial control because tribal people are unwilling to relinquish control to the government. Even those adversely affected by a tribal council's decisions often accept the decision out of respect. Many others comply out of fear, believing the tribal councils to be too powerful and outside the realm of the official judiciary. Some tribal council members are in fact powerful leaders—not only within the tribal community itself, but also as parliamentarians or as people with links to the official government administration. At times, tribal councils have held their proceedings on the premises of the official criminal justice system.

The State rarely interferes with the tribal councils' decisions, regardless of how harmful the decisions may be, because it feels that it is better to leave the matters of tribal areas to tribal councils. Yet Mukhtaran Mai's case is demonstrative of the people's desire and need for change. In Mukhtaran Mai's case, the tribal council itself became a perpetrator, abusing its power and seeking retribution in such a perverse fashion that Pakistan, thankfully, no longer could look away.

Conclusion

Mukhtaran Mai has become known not only as a victim of gang-rape, but as an icon for the strong women of Pakistan. After more than a decade of social humiliation, courtroom battles and fearing for her life. With every court's decision, Mukhtaran Mai's ordeal has been lengthened. While a traditional tribal council made Mukhtaran Mai a victim, Pakistan's judicial system continued to victimize her with unpredictable and unprecedented actions in her case. Despite the physical and emotional toll, Mai remains adamant that women should speak up. "If any girl was in my situation, I would tell her that getting justice is very difficult. But we, as women, should still keep raising our voices. These court systems will have to change. But if we take this and stay

quiet, it's not good for us. Mothers, sisters, daughters, if we all unite and speak out, eventually we will get justice - if not for ourselves, for future generations." [4]

MALALA YOUSAFZAI

As a young girl, Malala Yousafzai defied the Taliban in Pakistan and demanded that girls be allowed to receive an education. She was shot in the head by a Taliban gunman in 2012, but survived and went on to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

Early Life

On July 12, 1997, Malala Yousafzai was born in Mingora, Pakistan, located in the country's Swat Valley. For the first few years of her life, her hometown remained a popular tourist spot that was known for its summer festivals. However, the area began to change as the Taliban tried to take control.

Initial Activism

Yousafzai attended a school that her father, Ziauddin Yousafzai, had founded. After the Taliban began attacking girls' schools in Swat, Malala gave a speech in Peshawar, Pakistan, in September 2008. The title of her talk was, "How dare the Taliban take away my basic right to education?" In early 2009, Yousafzai began blogging for the BBC about living under the Taliban's threats to deny her an education. In order to hide her identity, she used the name Gul Makai. However, she was revealed to be the BBC blogger in December of that year.

With a growing public platform, Yousafzai continued to speak out about her right, and the right of all women, to education. Her activism resulted in a nomination for the International Children's Peace Prize in 2011. That same year, she was awarded Pakistan's National Youth Peace Prize.

Targeted by the Taliban

Malala and her family learned that the Taliban had issued a death threat against her because of her activism. Though Malala was frightened for the safety of her father—an anti-Taliban activist—she and her family initially felt that the fundamentalist group would not actually harm a child.

On October 9, 2012, when 15-year-old Malala was riding a bus with friends on their way home from school, a masked gunman boarded the bus and demanded to know which girl was Malala. When her friends looked toward Malala, her location was given away. The gunman fired at her, hitting Malala in the left side of her head; the bullet then travelled down her neck. Two other girls were also injured in the attack.

The shooting left Malala in critical condition, so she was flown to a military hospital in Peshawar. A portion of her skull was removed to treat her swelling brain. To receive further care, she was transferred to Birmingham, England.

After the Attack

Once she was in the United Kingdom, Yousafzai was taken out of a medically induced coma. Though she would require multiple surgeries—including repair of a facial nerve to fix the

[4] http://gulfnews.com/news/asia/pakistan/mukhtar-mai-still-fighting-for-justice-more-than-a-decade-after-gang-rape-1.1843650

paralyzed left side of her face—she had suffered no major brain damage. In March 2013, she was able to begin attending school in Birmingham.

The shooting resulted in a massive outpouring of support for Yousafzai, which continued during her recovery. She gave a speech at the United Nations on her 16th birthday, in 2013. She has also written an autobiography, *I Am Malala: The Girl Who Stood Up for Education and Was Shot by the Taliban*, which was released in October 2013. Unfortunately, the Taliban still considers Yousafzai a target.

Despite the Taliban's threats, Yousafzai remains a staunch advocate for the power of education. On October 10, 2013, in acknowledgement of her work, the European Parliament awarded Yousafzai the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought. That same year, she was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize. She didn't win the prize, but was named a nominee again in March 2014. In August of the same year, *Leanin.Org* held a live chat on Facebook with Sheryl Sandberg and Yousafzai about the importance of education for girls around the world. She talked about her story, her inspiration and family, her plans for the future and advocacy, and she answered a variety of inquiries from the social network's users.

In October 2014, Yousafzai received the Nobel Peace Prize, along with Indian children's rights activist Kailash Satyarthi. At age 17, she became the youngest person to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. In congratulating Yousafzai, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said: "She is (the) pride of Pakistan, she has made her countrymen proud. Her achievement is unparalleled and unequalled. Girls and boys of the world should take lead from her struggle and commitment." UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon described her as "a brave and gentle advocate of peace who through the simple act of going to school became a global teacher."

For her 18th birthday on July 12, 2015, also called Malala Day, the young activist continued to take action on global education by opening a school for Syrian refugee girls in Lebanon. Its expenses covered by the Malala Fund, the school was designed to admit nearly 200 girls from the ages of 14 to 18. "Today on my first day as an adult, on behalf of the world's children, I demand of leaders we must invest in books instead of bullets," Yousafzai proclaimed in one of the school's classrooms.

In October 2015, a documentary about Yousafzai's life was released. *HE NAMED ME MALALA*, directed by Davis Guggenheim (*An Inconvenient Truth, Waiting for Superman*), gives viewers an intimate look into the life of Malala, her family, and her commitment to supporting education for girls around the world.

In April 2017, United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres appointed Yousafzai as a UN Messenger of Peace to promote girls' education. The appointment is the highest honour given by the United Nations for an initial period of two years. Yousafzai was also given honorary Canadian citizenship in April. She is the sixth person and the youngest in the country's history to receive the honour.

SHERMIN OBAID-CHINOY

Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy was born in Karachi in 1978. She did her early schooling at the prestigious Karachi Grammar School, and later studied mass communications at Stanford University in the US. Since then, she has reported, produced and directed over a dozen documentary films.

Obaid was awarded the American Women in Radio and Television Gracie Award for "Individual Achievement, Reporter/Correspondent" for her work in the documentary Terror's

Children. She was also awarded the Overseas Press Club Award, ("The Carl Spielvogel Award" for best international reporting in any medium showing a concern for the human condition) and the South Asian Journalist Association Award for the same film.

Obaid filmed her second documentary for the Discovery Times network in the northwest province of Pakistan, exploring the conflict between the secular majority and a zealous minority of fundamentalist Muslims who are steadily gaining more ground in the region. The film, Re-inventing the Taliban? Premiered on the channel in February 2004.

The film was awarded the Special Jury Award at the BANFF-TV festival in Canada, the CINE Golden Eagle Award and the American Women in Radio and Television award for outstanding documentary in the U.S. Obaid was also the first non-American journalist to be awarded the prestigious Livingston Award for her work in this documentary. On a Razor's Edge was Obaid's third documentary. It aired on PBS Frontline World on March 25th 2004. The documentary dealt with President Musharraf's policies in light of the nuclear leaks and the proxy war in Kashmir.

She made history as the only Pakistani to win two Oscars. She made headlines in Pakistan when her name was called at the Dolby Theatre in Hollywood, Los Angeles, for best short subject documentary film of the year.

She won an Emmy for her documentary, Pakistan: Children of the Taliban in 2010. She is also the first non-American to win the Livingston Award for Young Journalists. On 26 February, 2012, Chinoy won an Oscar for her documentary film, Saving Face. Obaid made history as she won the Academy Award for her documentary.

According to her fans "Her victory shines a spotlight on a subject which affects thousands of women in Pakistan and elsewhere, but is seldom discussed at home." Chinoy dedicated the award to the women of Pakistan. The women's "bravery and resilience in the face of adversity inspires me every single day," she said. "They are the true heroes of Pakistan."

Conclusion

The subject of honour killing is not discussed much in Pakistan-mainly because most of the crimes go unreported and the victims remain unknown. This is why Ms Obaid-Chinoy chose it as the subject for her latest film. She said that after seeing the film, Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has vowed to change the law on honour-killings.

Apart from two Oscars and two Emmy Awards for her documentaries, she was also awarded the Hilal-e-Imtiaz (The Crescent of Distinction), the second highest civilian award of Pakistan, in 2012, soon after she won her first Oscar.

She is currently teaching a course in documentary storytelling at SZABIST. She is teaching the students how to go out and harness stories that are worth telling. She has also launched her own film production company, Sharmeen-Obaid-Chinoy Films, for which she has consciously chosen to hire a younger staff with no prior experience in filmmaking. She wanted it to be that way so they are not set in their ways and they can learn newer, different ways of documenting that have not been used in Pakistan before. Sharmeen has finished post-production work on a documentary, Trans-genders: Pakistan's Open Secret, which follows the lives of transsexuals in Pakistan. She is now looking to develop youth-based television Programming.[5]

[5] http://www.newslinemagazine.com/2012/02/profile-sharmeen-obaid-chinoy/

KEY QUESTIONS (CSS)

1. Discuss the role of (WAF) Women Action Forum against the oppressive policies and laws of Zia's government regarding women.
2. Define concept of development in your own word. Explain various theories of development.
3. Why is politics important for the process of development? Also discuss the factors that hinder women's participation in politics
4. Discuss the importance of the world conferences on the development of women in general and Pakistani women in particular.
5. Define patriarchy. How does patriarchy determine women's status in a society?
6. What are the effects of industrialization on women's situations? Compare the life of women of agrarian society with the women of today's industrial society.
7. There are discrepancies in the provisions made in the law and the actual policies regarding the rights and responsibilities of women in Pakistan. Discuss
8. The legal system is influenced by constitution, sharia and customary laws, what is its impact on women's rights in Pakistan?
9. Explain the social and economic impact of women's education in a society or a country.
10. Is there a women's movement in Pakistan? If there is one, what is its role regarding women's right?
11. Explain the difference between equity and equality. Does the constitution provide for equity, equality or both?
12. Explain the difference between Socialist feminism and Radical feminism.
13. Describe the liberal feminist and radical feminist perspective in detail. Also highlight the differences between them.
14. How is gender a social construct? What are the consequences of behaving outside gender norms?
15. What is queer theory, and what are its strengths and weaknesses?
16. In what ways is WID approach to development different from WAD and GAD?

CSS PAST PAPERS

FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION
COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION-2016
FOR RECRUITMENT TO POSTS IN BS-17
UNDER THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

GENDER STUDIES

TIME ALLOWED: THREE HOURS	**PART-I (MCQs)**	**Maximum Marks: 20**
PART-I (MCQs) Maximum 30 Minutes	**PART-II**	**Maximum Marks: 80**

Note: (i) **Part-II** is to be attempted on the separate **Answer Book.**
(ii) Attempt **ONLY FOUR** questions from **PART-II. ALL** questions carry **EQUAL** Marks.
(iii) All the parts (if any) of each Question must be attempted at one place instead of at different places.
(iv) Candidate must write **Q. No.** in the Answer Book in accordance with **Q. No.** in the Q. Paper.
(v) No Page/Space be left blank between the answers. All the blank pages of Answer Book must be crossed.
(vi) Extra attempt of any question or any part of the attempted question will not be considered.

PART-II

Q.2. Write a note on the status of women's studies in Pakistan and give your views on the autonomy/integration debate in Women's Studies. **(20)**

Q.3. What are the sites and forms of violence against women in Pakistan and how in your view this menace can be eliminated from our society? **(20)**

Q.4. What are the pros and cons of gender quota in politics? Give your views on the impact of gender quota in politics in Pakistan. **(20)**

Q.5. Write a note on women's movement in Pakistan. What are its strength and weaknesses? **(20)**

Q.6. What are the theories of social construction of gender? **(20)**

Q.7. What is feminism? In what way Radical feminism is different from Socialist Feminism? **(20)**

Q.8. Critically review the Gender and Development Approaches on the following:
(i) Women in Development (WID)
(ii) Women and Development (WAD)
(iii) Gender and Development (GAD).

FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION
COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION-2017
FOR RECRUITMENT TO POSTS IN BS-17
UNDER THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

GENDER STUDIES

TIME ALLOWED: THREE HOURS — **PART-I (MCQs)** Maximum Marks = 20
PART-I (MCQs): Maximum 30 Minutes — **PART-II** Maximum Marks = 80

Note: (i) **Part-II** is to be attempted on the separate **Answer Book**.
(ii) Attempt **ONLY FOUR** questions from **PART-II**. All questions carry **EQUAL** marks.
(iii) All the parts (if any) of each Question must be attempted at one place instead of at different places. .
(iv) Candidate must write **Q. No.** in the Answer Book in accordance with **Q. No.** in the **Q. Paper**.
(v) No Page/Space be left blank between the answers. All the blank pages of Answer Book must be crossed.
(vi) Extra attempt of any question or any part of the attempted question will not be considered.

PART-II

Q.2. Define and discuss the discipline of gender studies and also differentiate between women studies and gender studies. (20)

Q.3. What are the different forms of gender based violence and, in your opinion, what could be the workable strategies to eliminate gender based violence from Pakistani society? (20)

Q.4. "Women active political participation could stabilize democracy and boost economic development." Comment on this statement within context of socio-economic realities of Pakistani society. (20)

Q.5. What is the status of women's health in Pakistan? How it could be improved within the available economic resources? (20)

Q.6. "Powerful forces of globalization have highlighted various gender issues across cultures and throughout the globe." Discuss by quoting examples from developing countries. (20)

Q.7. Write a comprehensive note on autonomy versus integration debate in gender studies. (20)

Q.8. Write short notes on the following: (10 each) (20)

(a) Honor killing (b) Gender and development

FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION
COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION - 2018
FOR RECRUITMENT TO POSTS IN BS-17
UNDER THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

GENDER STUDIES

TIME ALLOWED: THREE HOURS — **PART-I (MCQS)** **MAXIMUM MARKS = 20**
PART-I (MCQS): MAXIMUM 30 MINUTES — **PART-II** **MAXIMUM MARKS = 80**

Note: (i) **Part-II** is to be attempted on the separate **Answer Book**.
(ii) Attempt **ONLY FOUR** questions from **PART-II**. **ALL** questions carry **EQUAL** marks.
(iii) All the parts (if any) of each Question must be attempted at one place instead of at different places.
(iv) Candidate must write Q. No. in the Answer Book in accordance with Q. No. in the Q. Paper.
(v) No Page/Space be left blank between the answers. All the blank pages of Answer Book must be crossed.
(vi) Extra attempt of any question or any part of the attempted question will not be considered.

PART-II

Q.2. What are the fundamental differences between Gender Studies and Women's Studies? Substantiate your argument(s) with examples. Highlight the current status of women studies in Pakistan. (20)

Q.3. Write a comprehensive essay on the 'sex versus gender debate' in feminist philosophy and social sciences, reflecting nature versus nurture argument. (20)

Q.4. What type(s) of feminism can elevate the social-cultural, economic and political status of women in Pakistan? (20)

Q.5. What are the reasons responsible for ranking Pakistan as the second-worst country in the world for gender inequality despite Pakistan commitment to many international conventions and strong commitment to gender equality in 1973 constitution? (20)

Q.6. In the last two decades, *globalization* has had a huge impact on the lives of women in developing nations, including Pakistan. What are the impacts of global political economy on Pakistani women? (20)

Q.7. Believing in the statement that "women cover half the sky", do you think we need equal number of women in all spheres of public domain, especially in politics? (20)

Q.8. Write short notes on any **TWO** of the followings: **(10 each)** (20)

(a) 'Gender Strategic Needs' and 'Gender Practical Needs'.
(b) APWA and WAF.
(c) Government Initiative for combating the menace of violence against women.

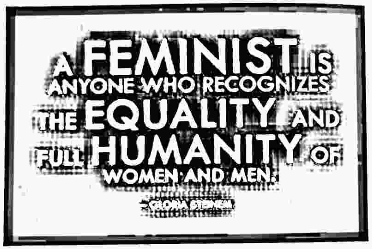
CHAPTER 3

FEMINIST THEORIES AND PRACTICE

FEMINISM AND FEMINIST THEORY

Feminism is the belief in the social, political and economic equality of the sexes. Feminist activism is the struggle for that equality. Feminism is the radical notion that women are people. In other words, feminism is a commitment to achieving the equality of the sexes. This radical notion is not exclusive to women: men, while benefiting from being the dominant sex, also have a stake in overcoming the restrictive roles that deprive them of full humanity.

Feminism consists of ideas and beliefs about what culture is like for women just because they are women, compared to what the world is like for men just because they are men. In ethical terms, this form or aspect of feminism is *descriptive*. The assumption in feminism is that women are not treated equally to men, and that women are disadvantaged in comparison to men.

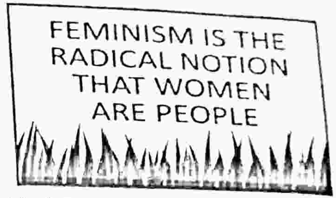


Though the media has maligned feminism as a drive for selfish fulfilment by female professionals, those who stand to gain the most are actually those who have the least. The demand for full equality for all women is profoundly radicalizing when it addresses the additional layers of discrimination women experience because of class, race, sexuality, disability, and age, and also the heightened impact on women and children of war, poverty and environmental degradation. Multi-issue feminism quickly develops into a critique of the whole social system.

Feminism as Historical Entity and Process

Feminism is influenced by, sometimes even determined by, its enemies. In some parts of Africa, feminism means a fight against female genital mutilation; in the middle ages it would have meant a fight for witches' right to live; in the Western, world a hundred years ago, it meant a fight for women's right to hold property, to divorce, to vote, to be recognized as adult legal subjects. And in the Western world today, it means a fight against tacit and institutionalized collectivist and misogynist beliefs derived from gender roles and other sex-based prejudices.

The common thread running through these different periods and places is captured by the definition above. It involves a theory about and a commitment to men and women being equals, in all spheres of life. Equals in standing, possibility, freedom and range of choice.



This is the core of all feminist theories. This "core feminism" or "core feminist theory" doesn't prescribe or presuppose neither differences between men and women nor similarities between men and women, nor does it require excluding men or only furthering women's causes.

Feminists, as a rule, assume that there are few, if any, inherent, unchangeable differences between men and women; only a lot of individual differences and variation. Patriarchalists claim the existence of many universal and immutable differences between men and women, seeking to understate, marginalize and suppress individual differences in an attempt to create two universal gender forms or essences that everybody must be squeezed into. In other words, Lamont's claim that most feminists are polylogists is wrong. Only a minority of feminists are polylogists; but virtually all patriarchalists are polylogists. They follow a schema of rationalizations starting with biological, immutable gender essences that are used to justify polylogist beliefs about men's and women's minds, and from there they move on to justify different treatment and expectations of girls and boys, women and men, pretending that gender roles are natural, inborn and immutable. One typical example is John Gray's *Men are from Mars, women are from Venus*, which has been concisely and extensively criticized by feminist women and men from Earth

New Age Feminism

New Age feminism has emerged in the 21st century as both a continuation of and response to Second and Third Wave feminism. It challenges "traditional definitions of femininity and embraces a change in times, incorporating elements of ethnicity, girl power, individualist feminism, sex-positivity and postmodernism." In New Age feminism, a woman (or man) embraces the qualities in him or herself that have culturally been defined as "feminine" without shame, while still fighting against the discrimination women (and "feminine" men) still face in the workplace and other facets of 21st century society. This movement comes in response to a culture that "simultaneously claims to embrace the equality of men and women and at the same time seriously devalues femininity".

Unlike Second and Third Wave feminists, a New Age feminist does not demand women be treated the same way as a man, but rather that the differences between men and women be recognized, understood, and accommodated even while those differences are treated with equity.

For this reason, she does not deny her female biology (whether physical, hormonal, or psychological), and demands it be accommodated for while still not allowing it to justify oppression. She supports scientific studies into the biologically influenced differences between those with male and female bodies and accepts that traits culturally defined as "feminine" like being moody, emotionally articulate, gentle, or quiet, are "rooted in biology, not intended to mesh with any kind of pro- or anti-feminist ideology."

Career and Family

New Age feminists are not afraid to have children or to get married should they choose to, nor do they feel shame for choosing not to. A New Age feminist knows there is great joy in both a career and a family, and feels entitled to both. This feminist is not looking for special treatment, or even purely equal treatment. She is looking for equitable treatment, respect in the workplace, and equal opportunity. She champions the rights of working women to become pregnant, take maternity leave, and nurse in public, while still getting paid as much as her male counterparts. Meanwhile, she lends her support to slut walks, sex workers, belly and poll dancers, free the Nipple campaigns, as well as anti-harassment and anti-victim blaming movements. She denounces sexual exploitation, but also believes in a woman's (or anyone's) right to explore and be empowered by their own "feminine" sexuality.

Most feminists do not hate men and many New Age feminists may have at some point in their lives identified as men, or are in love with or have close relationships with men. Nor do they reject certain male practices like chivalry and sexual dominance as long as they are performed consensually.

EXAMPLES OF NEW AGE FEMINISTS ARE LADY GAGA, AND BEYONCÉ

Basic Feminist Ideas

Both females and males who identify themselves as feminists disagree on many things. That being said, most feminists agree on four basic principles:

- **Working to increase equality**: Feminist thought links ideas to action, insisting we should push for change toward gender equality and not just talk about it.
- **Expanding human choice**: Feminists believe that both men and women should have the freedom to develop their human interests and talents, even if those interests and talents conflict with the status quo. For example, if a woman wants to be a mechanic, she should have the right and opportunity to do so.
- **Eliminating gender stratification**: Feminists oppose laws and cultural norms that limit income, educational and job opportunities for women.
- **Ending sexual violence** and **promoting sexual freedom**: Feminists feel that women should have control over their sexuality and reproduction.

FEMINIST THEORY

Feminist theory is one of the major contemporary sociological theories, which analyses the status of women and men in society with the purpose of using that knowledge to better women's lives. Feminist theorists also question the differences between women, including how race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, nationality, and age intersect with gender. Contemporary sociologist Patricia Hill Collins is known throughout the field for developing, deploying, and popularizing the concept of intersectionality in her theory and research.

Feminist theory is most concerned with giving a voice to women and highlighting the various ways women have contributed to society.

There are four main types of feminist theory that attempt to explain the societal differences between men and women:

1. Gender Differences

The gender difference perspective examines how women's location in, and experience of, social situations differ from men's. For example, cultural feminists look to the different values associated with womanhood and femininity as a reason why men and women experience the social world differently. Other feminist theorists believe that the different roles assigned to women and men within institutions better explain gender difference, including the sexual division of labour in the household. Existential and phenomenological feminists focus on how women have been marginalized and defined as the "other" in patriarchal societies. Women are thus seen as objects and are denied the opportunity for self-realization.

2. Gender Inequality

Gender-inequality theories recognize that women's location in, and experience of, social situations are not only different but also unequal to men's. Liberal feminists argue that women have the same capacity as men for moral reasoning and agency, but that patriarchy, particularly the sexist patterning of the division of labour, has historically denied women the opportunity to express and practice this reasoning. Women have been isolated to the private sphere of the household and, thus, left without a voice in the public sphere. Even after women enter the public sphere, they are still expected to manage the private sphere and take care of household duties and child rearing. Liberal feminists point out that marriage is a site of gender inequality and that women do not benefit from being married as men do. Indeed, married women have higher levels of stress than unmarried women and married men. According to liberal feminists, the sexual division of labour in both the public and private spheres needs to be altered in order for women to achieve equality.

3. Gender Oppression

Theories of gender oppression go further than theories of gender difference and gender inequality by arguing that not only are women different from or unequal to men, but that they are actively oppressed, subordinated, and even abused by men. Power is the key variable in the two main theories of gender oppression: psychoanalytic feminism and radical feminism. Psychoanalytic feminists attempt to explain power relations between men and women by reformulating Freud's theories of the subconscious and unconscious, human emotions, and childhood development. They feel that conscious calculation cannot fully explain the production and reproduction of patriarchy. Radical feminists argue that being a woman is a positive thing in and of itself, but that this is not acknowledged in patriarchal societies where women are oppressed. They identify physical violence as being at the base of patriarchy, but they think that patriarchy can be defeated if women recognize their own value and strength, establish a sisterhood of trust with other women, confront oppression critically, and form female separatist networks in the private and public spheres.

4. Structural Oppression

Structural oppression theories posit that women's oppression and inequality are a result of capitalism, patriarchy and racism. Socialist feminists agree with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels that the working class is exploited as a consequence of the capitalist mode of production, but they seek to extend this exploitation not just to class but also to gender. Intersectionality theorists seek to explain oppression and inequality across a variety of variables, including class, gender, race,

by gender, and as a result oppressing women and privileging men. Radical feminism opposes existing political and social organization in general because it is inherently tied to patriarchy. Thus, radical feminists tend to be sceptical of political action within the current system, and instead tend to focus on cultural change that undermines patriarchy and associated hierarchical structures.

> "Feminism is the radical notion that women are people."
>
> Cheris Kramarae
> Paula Treichler

- *Radical feminists tend to be more militant in their approach (radical as "getting to the root") than other feminists are. A radical feminist aims to dismantle patriarchy, rather than making adjustments to the system through legal changes. Radical feminists also resisted reducing oppression to an economic or class issue, as socialist or Marxist feminism sometimes did. Radical feminism was rooted in the wider radical movement, where women participated in anti-war and New Left political movements of the 1960s, finding themselves excluded from equal power by the men within the movement, even with underlying themes of empowerment. Many of these women split off into specifically feminist groups, while still retaining much of their political radical ideals and methods. Then radical feminism became the term used for the more radical edge of feminism.*
- *Radical feminism opposes patriarchy, not men. To equate radical feminism to man-hating is to assume that patriarchy and men are inseparable, philosophically and politically. (Robin Morgan defended "man-hating" as the right of the oppressed class to hate the class which is oppressing them.) Radical feminism is credited with the use of consciousness-raising groups to raise awareness on women's oppression.*
- *Radical feminism considers the male-controlled capitalist hierarchy, which it describes as sexist, as the defining feature of women's oppression. Radical feminists believe that women can free themselves only when they have done away with what they consider an inherently oppressive and dominating patriarchal system. Radical feminists feel that there is a male-based authority and power structure and that it is responsible for oppression and inequality, and that as long as the system and its values are in place, society will not be able to be reformed in any significant way. Some radical feminists see no alternatives other than the total uprooting and reconstruction of society in order to achieve their goals.*

Sub-types of Radical Feminism

Over time a number of sub-types of Radical feminism have emerged, such as Cultural feminism, Separatist feminism and Anti-pornography feminism. Cultural feminism is the ideology of a "female nature" or "female essence" that attempts to revalidate what they consider undervalued female attributes. It emphasizes the difference between women and men but considers that difference to be psychological, and to be culturally constructed rather than biologically innate. Its critics assert that because it is based on an essentialist view of the differences between women and men and advocates independence and institution building, it

has led feminists to retreat from politics to "life-style". One such critic, Alice Echols, a feminist historian and cultural theorist, credits Redstockings member Brooke Williams with introducing the term cultural feminism in 1975 to describe the depoliticization of radical feminism.

Separatist feminism is a form of radical feminism that does not support heterosexual relationships. Its proponents argue that the sexual disparities between men and women are unresolvable. Separatist feminists generally do not feel that men can make positive contributions to the feminist movement and that even well-intentioned men replicate patriarchal dynamics. Author Marilyn Frye describes separatist feminism as "separation of various sorts or modes from men and from institutions, relationships, roles and activities that are male-defined, male-dominated, and operating for the benefit of males and the maintenance of male privilege – this separation being initiated or maintained, at will, by women."[2]

CRITICISM

1. Radical feminist academic scholarship is often highly partisan (more so than other groups) and even invents statistics e.g. radical feminist "scholars" on witchcraft have in the past claimed that 9 million women were killed in the European witch trials which is outright fraudulent.
2. Radical feminists seek to promote division between people's superficial differences.
3. Radical feminist makes wider feminism appear ludicrous to outsiders. The outright vile things that radical feminism often condones, make all of feminism appear inane to many who do not differentiate between liberals and radicals. Luckily, many liberal feminists such as Betty Friedan have realized this and criticized radical feminism.
4. Radical feminism often resorts to violence and proclaims hate speech (while simultaneously trying to outlaw criticism of themselves). This hate speech can be seen, and it would not be going too far to deem the radical feminist equivalent. Fortunately, most people realized that radical feminism is divisive and prejudiced, calling everyone to unite against the hate movement that is radical feminism.
5. Radical feminists' methods for resolving tensions are impractical and inhumane, e.g. Gender segregation would not only be farcical in practicality but would contradict most, if not all, human rights legislation.
6. Women's roles aren't the same in all families, some are becoming more symmetrical.
7. Some women choose to fulfil what feminists see as an emasculating role in the family; feminists don't account for this.

MARXIST AND SOCIALIST FEMINISM

Marxist feminism, where socialist feminism has its roots, points out that class relations and capitalist exploitation of women through their roles in the household are the cause of women's oppression. Capitalists profit from the free provision of labour by women in their family roles. Women need to provide free care for the young, the old, the sick, and even the (male) able-bodied worker. In addition to capitalists, individual men benefit from women's free labour and economic dependence under capitalism. They are able to exercise complete economic control over their

[2] Retrieved from: http://www.radfemcollective.org/what-is-radical-feminism/